

The Construction of Gender Relations in Sport Organisations

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Abstract

This research sought to analyse the construction of gender relations in sport organisations. Specifically, three National Governing Bodies (NGBs) in England were selected as the research sites. Based on a Foucauldian framework, gender relations were analysed as power relationships between dominant and resistant discourses. Using a variety of qualitative research methods in order to enable triangulation, data were collected that encapsulated individuals' views on gender relations. These data comprised both formally (i.e. documentary) and informally (i.e. conversational) expressed discourses. This enabled a comparison of organisational and individual perspectives. In addition, Sport England's influence on the creation of gender relations within the NGBs, particularly with regard to the development of gender equity policies, was addressed. The analysis of the data revealed that, despite well-documented and publicised commitments to equity issues (Sport England, 2000), the prevailing power relations within the NGBs largely favoured most men's interests over most women's. Such discourses were expressed by individuals in the organisations through a number of organisational practices. These were the creation of organisational histories; the creation of gender roles, masculinities, and femininities; the creation and implementation of gender equity policies; and organisational networking. Potential reasons for the development of such practices included prevailing, often unchallenged, historical discourses; the unrecognised use of discriminatory language; the unpopular and unworkable nature of gender equity policies; and the dominance of 'old boys' and 'old girls' networks in the organisations. Some resistance was evident to these organisational practices and was expressed by individuals in each organisation, specifically within the youngest of the three organisations. Although a Foucauldian framework was useful in establishing the complex nature of power relations, and resistance within them, shortcomings were identified which led to limitations in the research. It is hoped, however, that this research and future collaborative work with the NGBs and other sport organisations may lead to greater awareness of gender inequities and strategies for changes in similar situations.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The focus of this research was to analyse the social construction of gender relations in English national sport organisations. In this chapter, current issues in the study of gender relations and concerns about such relationships in sport organisations are briefly outlined. Next, attempts that have been made to analyse and understand gender in sport organisations are examined. It is suggested that such research has not gone far enough in the pursuit of understanding gender relations. It is proposed that an analysis of gender relations as power relationships is required if we are to fully understand the complexities of gender, examine it as central to organisational analysis, and challenge the discriminatory practices that exist at many levels in many sport organisations. Alternative theoretical approaches that are derived from the field of organisational studies and may underpin such work are then presented. This leads to a statement of the purpose of the research and an outline of the structure of the thesis.

Sport has been identified as having an enormous influence within contemporary society (Messner & Sabo, 1990). Bookshops burst with volumes about sport and sports people, and every daily newspaper in the UK has a number of pages devoted to sport. Television companies compete to secure the lucrative rights to broadcast sporting events. For example, in June 2000, Sky Television paid £1.1 billion to gain the rights to screen English Premier League football games (www.skytv.com). Independent Television (ITV) paid £65 million to show highlights of the same games. The American company, National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), has spent US\$35 billion to televise the summer and winter Olympic Games until 2008 (Mitchell, 2000). In addition to its association with vast amounts of money, sport is also attributed with characteristics that range from health promotion (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport [DCMS], 2000) to the development of national pride (Sports Council, 1997). To be a part of the sports bandwagon, therefore, is to participate in a spectacle that has tremendous credibility and influence within society. To achieve a position high in the administration of sport such as that enjoyed by Manchester United's Sir Alex Ferguson or the International Olympic Committee's Juan Antonio Samaranch is an achievement that generates publicity, fame, respect, and power.

Yet, it would appear that few women have been able to access the most powerful echelons of sport (Hargreaves, 1994). Indeed, the relationships between women and men in sports participation and its organisation have rarely been smooth and have frequently favoured men at the expense of women (Hargreaves, 1994). These relationships within sport organisations are in part a product of their historical roots. Views that are exclusionary to women have been expressed by historical figures in sport. Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the founding 'father' of the modern Olympic movement, said in 1912; "there will probably be women runners, or even women football players ... would they constitute a proper spectacle to offer the audience ... we do not think that this may be claimed to be so" (Daniels & Tedder, 2000, p. 5). Hargreaves (1994) argued that women's menstrual cycles, childbearing, and

menopause were presented as a defence for Victorian views that women should not participate in sport. She stated; “biological ideas were used specifically to construct social ideas about gender and to defend inequalities between men and women in sports. Because large numbers of men and boys were seen to play sports, and women generally were not – the evidence confirmed that this was the ‘natural’ order of things” (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 43).

Such beliefs may seem old fashioned, even ridiculous, to contemporary readers and no longer representative of views about women’s involvement in sport. Indeed, today’s sport managers could choose to claim that, since the advent of Title IX¹ in the USA, the Sex Discrimination Act² (1975) in the UK, and similar legislation in other countries, sport and sport organisations have become more equitable with regard to gender relations. For example, in the 2000 Olympic Games, women competed in the same number of events as men for the first time. In 1971, 1 in 27 American girls participated in high school sports. In 1998, that figure was 1 in 3 (www.womenssportsfoundation.org). Claims that equity is becoming central to sport organisations may be reinforced by alluding to the first International Conference on Women and Sport, organised by the Sports Council³ and the International Olympic Committee in 1994. This meeting, attended by 280 delegates from 82 countries, addressed gender issues in participation and in sport management (Women’s Sports Foundation, 1994). As a result of this conference, the *Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport* (Women’s Sports Foundation, 1994) was published and adopted by 200 countries. It outlined ten principles, one of which was the statement that;

women are under represented in the leadership and decision making of all sport and sport related organisations. Those responsible for these areas should develop policies and programmes and design structures which increase the number of women coaches, advisers, decision makers, officials, administrators and sports personnel at all levels, with special attention given to recruitment, development and retention (Women’s Sports Foundation, 1994).

In June 2000, as a result of this statement, Sport England published the document *Making English sport inclusive*, which provided guidelines for increased equity (Sport England, 2000).

Despite such moves, the creation of policies and increased participation rates indicates only part of the story about the current state of gender relations in sport organisations. In some areas of sport management, attitudes towards gender relations have changed little in the past 100 years. For example in 1990, two women were elected as Directors to Bradford Football Club. The chairman, Trevor Steele, resigned stating; “they are nice people with a part to play, but at

¹ Title IX (1972) is a federal act in the USA that prohibits sex discrimination in any education programme or activity that is federally funded (Hall, 1996).

² The Sex Discrimination Act (1975) states that it is unlawful to discriminate on grounds of sex (www.eoc.org.uk)

³ The Sports Council was created in 1974. It is a semi-autonomous, government funded organisation with responsibility for the organisation and funding of sport in England. It was renamed The English Sports Council in 1997 and Sport England in 1999. Within the research, it will be referred to by whichever name is appropriate for the time period under discussion

the end of the day, they are tea ladies who do not understand the game” (Woodhouse & Williams, 1999, p39). Beliefs about women’s abilities to contribute to powerful positions are evident within Sport England. Despite this organisation’s well versed commitment to equity (Sport England, 2000) it is led by a council that comprises twelve men and just six women (www.english.sports.gov.uk). Examples of men’s dominance in sport organisations may also be found in the USA, where the members of the National Collegiate Athletic Association’s executive committee, who claim to have been instrumental in the creation of Title IX, comprise fourteen men and just four women (www.ncaa.org). On an international scale, the International Olympic Committee (IOC)’s seven Presidents have all been men (www.olympic.org). In addition, the IOC comprises 133 members, of which just 8 are women. It therefore appears that while the proportion of women participating in sport in the last century has increased, sport management is still largely an area in which men dominate. It may be suggested that the views expressed in legislation such as Title IX and recommendations such as those within the *Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport* (Women’s Sports Foundation, 1994) have not yet been successful in challenging the historical views of women’s abilities within sport management.

The under representation of women within sport organisations raises a number of issues. It has been argued that women’s physical weakness in relation to men’s may be associated with an inability to manage organisations (Staurovsky, 1990). If such views are manifested in sport organisations, it is not surprising that few women are able to access powerful positions. This is then reinforced as women see more men than women in positions of authority. Consequently, they may be less likely to apply for such positions (Acosta & Carpenter, 1994).

With a lack of women in management roles, there may be a dearth of role models for future generations of female administrators. This lack of female influence within sport organisations may in turn affect the direction taken by sport organisations. If an organisation is not politically driven by women and men who are sympathetic to women’s inclusion in sport management, there may be few incentives for the organisation to be supportive of women’s involvement. Baron, Mittman, and Newman (1991) for example, indicated that gender equity is less likely in an organisation that is dominated by men. They also argued that the greater the number of women that are in administrative hierarchies, the less gender discrimination takes place (Baron, Mittman, & Newman, 1991). If this is the case, then an increase of women in powerful positions may provide a catalyst for change and an increase in equitable practices within sport organisations.

Such issues are not only the problem of sport organisations, they are manifestations of many other areas of society. However, sport organisations were of particular interest in this research for a number of reasons. Specifically, they are embedded with traditions that have

discriminated against women for many years (Whitson, 1990). Despite calls for professionalisation and equity (Sport England, 2000) sport organisations continue to be domains in which men are well represented compared to women (Hargreaves, 1994). Yet these organisations, and particularly those which are funded by Sport England, are allegedly committed to pursuing gender equity issues (Sport England, 2000). Their predicament, in which the male dominated traditions of sport organisations must be balanced with a commitment to equity and modernisation, thus makes them a prime site for research into gender relations.

Despite the concerns that have been highlighted, attempts to research and challenge the evident inequities between the genders within the management of sport organisations have been somewhat few and far between. Most of the literature that relates to gender relations in sport has focused on barriers to women's participation in this male domain (Hall, 1996; Messner, 1994). While these studies are undoubtedly invaluable in contributing to the debates surrounding relationships between women and men in sport, few have addressed gender relations, in any analytic sense, in the management of sport organisations. The few studies that have been conducted to date have been largely descriptive accounts of men's domination of women in sport organisations (Hargreaves, 1994; White & Brackenridge, 1985). These descriptive accounts of sport organisations may provide interesting and illuminating research. Such research, however, does little to challenge the inequities that have been created within the historical and social construction of sport organisations. In order to fully analyse and thus challenge the inequitable nature of gender relations, it is necessary to progress from analyses of *what* occurs within sport organisations to an examination of *how* and *why* they continue to be arenas in which gender relations are far from equitable.

While the critical analysis of the creation of gender relations may be considered to be sparse within sport organisations, it has been more fully developed in the wider field of organisational studies (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998; Mills, 1993). Here, gender has been developed as a central focus of research, which has highlighted continuing discrimination against many women within organisations (Martin, 1994). Initial attempts to analyse gender in organisations focused on the power of men 'over' women (Hall, 1996). This analysis developed over time to a more sophisticated analysis of gender *relations* (Connell, 1985). Gender relations may be understood as the interaction between women and men that is most usually dominated by men and/or specific masculinities. Masculinities are socially constructed definitions of behaviours that are often associated with men's actions and are valued within society. For example aggressive work practices, intimidation, and competition may be considered to be specific forms of masculinities that are valued in society. They contrast to femininities, the behaviours that are understood within society to be expressed by most women. These may include co-operative work practices, consultation, or negotiation skills, which are largely undervalued in society

(Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998). These stereotypical views may be reinforced through organisational practices (Cockburn, 1990; Woodward, 1996).

Extending these analyses, research in the organisational literature has focused on the analysis of discourses⁴, which have been highlighted as central to the construction and reification of gender relations in organisations (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998; Martin, 1996). It has been argued within organisational studies that influential discourses construct gender relations. Once these discourses become reified within organisations, they are hard to challenge. Thus, views about men's and women's abilities in organisations become organisational 'truths'. Within these relationships between genders, however, there is always the potential for resistance (Foucault, 1979). One of the primary foci within the analysis of gender power relations in organisations is how resistance to dominant gender relations may be expressed (Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998).

The analysis of gender power relations in organisations has therefore developed from assumptions about men's power 'over' women to a more sophisticated analysis of the power relationships between women and men. This analysis has a great deal to offer research into sport organisations. An analysis of *how* and *why* the discourses of gender power relations within organisations are constructed will enable a far greater understanding of gender relations in sport organisations. At a time when Sport England is searching to create 'equity' within sport (Sport England, 2000), a critical analysis of gender relations within sport organisations will contribute to Sport England's aims. Furthermore, it has been suggested that by analysing and thus understanding more about discriminatory practices, it is possible to expand alternative views to those practices (Foucault, 1972). The analysis of discourses within this research may also encourage the examination of practices by organisational members who largely exclude women from their hierarchies. In addition to this, it has been suggested that gender analysis has been devalued in organisational studies (Martin, 2000). This research attempted to contribute to challenges to this by highlighting gender as a research focus.

Purpose of the research

The purpose of this research is therefore to analyse how and why gender relationships are created in sport organisations. This examination is enabled through the analysis of these relationships as power relations. Power is identified through a Foucauldian framework, analysing the articulation of dominant and resistant discourses. Discourses are examined through their expression in organisational practices. Through this analysis, both discriminatory and equitable discourses are identified, thus highlighting the fluctuating nature of power in sport organisations. Furthermore, by addressing gender issues as central to the research, I endeavour

⁴ 'Discourse' and other conceptual issues raised here are discussed in further detail in Chapter two

to challenge gender-blindness that continues to be criticised by feminist organisational theorists (Martin, 2000). In order to clarify the content of the thesis, I now briefly outline its structure.

In Chapter 2, I provide the theoretical framework for the research. This outlines a Foucauldian understanding of power that was central to this research. In Chapter 3, I outline the methodology for the research, highlighting the issues that contributed to the research design, and fundamental elements of data analysis and writing. Following this, in Chapter 4, I present the case studies of each of the organisations that were selected as research sites. Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 comprise the discussion chapters. The topics for the discussion chapters are based on each of four organisational practices that are identified in Chapter 2. Within these chapters, the discourses that underpin gender power relations in sport organisations are analysed. Finally, in Chapter 9, I draw conclusions from the analyses in the preceding chapters, and also address the salient issues that arose within the research. A particular focus is placed on the discussion of the strengths and shortcomings of the theoretical framework and research design.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

In Chapter 1, I provided an introduction to this research. It was suggested that, for the most part, sport organisations are dominated by men and men's interests. There may be a number of reasons for the under-representation of women and women's interests but central to this is the concept of gender relations. By this, I mean the social organisation of sexual difference, of which power is an integral part (Acker, 1990; Vertinsky, 1994). These power relationships may deny many women access to managerial positions in organisations. While there may be little new in the claim that interactions between women and men are characterised by power, the understanding of this relationship and its implication for the management of sport organisations is far from complete. Until power relations are better analysed and understood, little change can be made within sport organisations. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to outline the theoretical framework that underpins the analysis of gender relations as power relations in this research.

Within the theoretical framework, I outline the need to develop the analysis of gender power relations. I then turn to the approach to understanding power that was used in this research. I argue that repressive and emancipatory views of power, while informative, do not fully reflect the power structures of gender relations. Using a Foucauldian approach, I suggest that power is intrinsically linked to historically and socially constructed knowledge, which is influential within society. Such knowledge, and thus power, exist in a relationship within which resistance is integral. I argue, furthermore, that the key to examining power discourses is through an analysis of their expression within organisational practices.

Gender as a power relation

The contradictions that are evident in the enigma of women's slowly increasing influence within society, and the 'hold' that men still appear to have on influential positions have led feminists to analyse gendered power relationships in increasingly sophisticated ways (Hall, 1996). The relationships between women and men cannot be fully understood without considering the power relations that are coterminous with them. These relationships have been identified as; "an integral connection between two propositions; gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (Scott, 1986, p. 1067, cited in Acker, 1990, p. 145). Power is therefore central to interpreting and challenging gender relations, and must be analysed in order to further our understanding of these relations. More often than not, such power relationships favour men, who often have more access than women to influential positions within society in general and organisations in particular (Connell, 1995). Within the organisational and sociological literature, three main ways of analysing power and gender relations have been identified. Power relations have been viewed as repressive, emancipatory as

reflected in Critical Theory, and relational as expressed in Postmodern analyses of power. I outline and examine each of these representations of power, and argue that a specific version of Postmodern power has most to offer as a theoretical frame for this research.

'Repressive' power

Within much of the popular management literature, power has been understood to be a repressive force, used by managers to; "influence behaviour, to change the course of events, to overcome resistance and to get people to do things that they would not otherwise do" (Pfeffer, 1992, p. 30). This conceptualisation indicates the way that power may be used to coerce workers into carrying out unwanted tasks. For example, a senior manager may ask a junior worker to take on extra work for no reward but, despite limits on the junior worker's time, the employee may feel unable to refuse this responsibility. This version of power, however, does not take into account the possibility of resistance and does not, therefore, acknowledge its multi-dimensional nature. At a simple level, this complexity may be expressed in a binary form, such as a junior worker who carries out their work slowly in order to express resistance and frustrate a senior manager. Other, more complex dimensions of power may be ignored in a repressive analysis, such as pressures that are faced by senior managers, their views on such issues, external forces such as political or funding issues, or internal concerns such as union negotiations. The analysis of power as repressive therefore fails to take account of its many complex relationships within organisations.

In terms of gender relations, the conceptualisation of power as repressive is problematic, as the potential for women to resist men's domination is not recognised. In a repressive analysis of power in organisations, it could therefore be claimed that 'all men dominate all women' and, furthermore, that women and men accept such domination. This view contributed to the themes that emerged in much of the writing in early second wave feminism⁵, in which authors tended not to analyse resistance but described inequalities. Women were thus highlighted as 'victims' who were powerless to change their situation (Hall, 1996). Rather than examine the potential for women to develop resistance and for some men to support them, women were portrayed almost as 'martyrs' to a patriarchal system (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). Not only was the potential for women to explore strategies of resistance not fully explored, the assumption that they accepted men's power was not questioned. As the increase in women managers in the past twenty years has shown, this was clearly not the case, thus the need to examine resistance in gender relations (Connell, 1985). The adoption of more radical thought, in which it was assumed that women could resist their societal position and that some men might support this, ensured the development of critiques of society and the organisations that are a part

⁵ Second wave feminism is used to distinguish 'feminism' in the 1960s from previous women's rights movements which were concerned with gaining the vote for women pre World War 1 (Hall, 1996).

of it. This became central to the basis of Critical Theory, which is influenced by the ideology of resistance through emancipatory power relations (Alvesson & Billing, 1997).

Critical Theory and emancipation

Critical Theory is based on the pursuit of emancipation that was proposed within the Enlightenment (Fay, 1987). In brief, the philosophies of the Enlightenment suggested that the 'human condition' is one of confusion, conflict, and darkness. Within Critical Theory, resistance to, and change of, the 'human condition' is the result of an emancipatory approach based on increased self-awareness and self-understanding of one's status. This awareness of self leads to a logical, planned resistance to discriminatory power (Fay, 1987). The individual (subject) is responsible for their own emancipation and is thus central to Critical Theory (Fay, 1987). Within feminist Critical Theory, the 'human condition', can be understood as a society in which women, as a homogenous group, are repressed by men. Within organisations, which are a part of wider society, the emancipation process may take place through the creation of, for example, women's support groups. The development of such groups is intended to increase the visibility of women, women's experiences, and therefore women's resistance to male power. This can bring women's concerns to a policy level, thus making 'women's issues' within organisations 'visible' and challenging organisational practices such as networking, which may exclude women and include men (Alvesson & Billing, 1997).

Critical Theories have been the basis for calls to changes in management practices. For example, Cockburn (1990) analysed the development of equity policies that were implemented by men and did not challenge their powerful positions. Acker (1990) also contributed to Critical Theory by critiquing job evaluations, which were based on criteria that reinforced men's influence, such as the assumption that 'women's work' may be associated with low paid jobs with minimal responsibility. Acker (1990) argued that, in contrast to women, men were found in higher level employment and continued to access those influential positions. Acker (1990) therefore called for a re-evaluation of organisational practices in which job suitability is *not* identified through socially constructed assumptions about 'gender roles'. Rather, challenges to gender roles should take place through a rational re-evaluation of assumptions about employment positions which are held by both women and men (Acker, 1990). By enlightening individuals' perceptions of gender through a rational analysis that challenges assumptions about gender roles, women and men may achieve equal access to organisational hierarchies (Acker, 1990).

Initially, Critical Theories appear to have many potential benefits for feminist approaches to understanding and challenging discriminatory gender power relations in organisations. Indeed, the idea of resistance as emancipatory provided a starting point for this research as it highlighted the optimistic potential for change to discriminatory power relations. The analyses of power and resistance proposed within many Critical Theories have, however,

been criticised as being impractical as there is little acknowledgement of the reaction of influential organisational members to challenges to their power (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). If individuals are in a position to 'hold' power over others, it is unlikely that they will relinquish this to those whom they oppress. Thus, Critical Theories have been accused of being utopian, assuming that influential groups and individuals will accept challenges to their power and authority (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992). Critical Theories are therefore not easily applicable to situations in which influential groups reject their emancipatory hypothesis. As Alvesson and Willmott (1992) stated; "given its attack upon established conceptions of science, policy and practice, it is not surprising that CT [sic] has itself been marginalized by mainstream theorists and practitioners. Arguably, its marginality is associated with its apparent lack of realism and practical application" (p. 437).

A second major critique of Critical Theory has come from Postmodernists who suggest that resistance in Critical Theory is reliant on emancipatory meta-narratives (Hassard, 1993). Within each 'section' of Critical Theory (such as Marxism, some versions of feminism), meta-narratives are used to propose solutions for discrimination. This focus, or 'one solution fits all', has resulted in an analysis of resistance that is often assumed to be the result of a collective movement of a homogenous group (Soper, 1993). For example, in feminist Critical Theory it has been argued that 'all women' work together and have the same emancipatory aims (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992). This, however, may not necessarily be the case as within organisations some women achieve influence with more ease than others and some men actively support equity (Hultin & Szulkin, 1999). Furthermore, not 'all women' or 'all men' want to achieve influential employment positions (Connell, 1995). Heterogeneity within groups must therefore be acknowledged in order to understand fully how power and resistance work. Finally, it is assumed within sections of Critical Theory that the subject (or individual) is rational and that resistance to discrimination is planned and deliberate. This may not be the case, for in some instances, resistance may be almost 'accidental', or not expressed in terms of rational resistance. For example, Wendy Toms, one of the first women to qualify as a Football Association referee in England refused to talk about the; "gender thing" (Woodhouse & Williams, 1999, p. 34). She did not associate her achievements with planned resistance to male dominance within football in the UK but with her own individual achievements. It would therefore be problematic to claim that her achievements were part of a group's efforts to promote 'rational resistance'.

Despite these critiques, Critical Theory has provided some useful insights for research in the area of gender relations in sport organisations. For example, within Critical Theory, it is recognised that resistance is possible to men's dominance within organisations. This suggests a development from understanding power as purely 'repressive'. Critical Theory is therefore useful in providing encouragement for resistance to; "contemporary forms of unreason, superstition and dogmatism" (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992, p. 436). Despite marginal shifts

away from the premise of rationality (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992), much of Critical Theory's utopian view of resistance is expressed in inflexible, homogeneous terms, which are unappealing to managers. The solutions to discrimination that are presented are invariably not self-reflexive enough to allow for those who do not fit within its dogma of 'rational resistance'. Furthermore, Critical Theory does not lend itself easily to encouraging dialogue between those in hierarchical positions and those who are being repressed, as its solutions are expressed in somewhat dictatorial terms (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992). If the majority of managers reject this approach to resistance, as Alvesson and Willmott (1992) have suggested, then Critical Theory can have little or no impact within organisations. A more reflexive and therefore more applicable analysis of power is required for understanding and analysing gender relations in sport organisations. This flexibility is evident within some Postmodern analyses of power.

Postmodernist and Foucauldian views on power

For Postmodernists, the world is socially constructed through discourses (Lyotard, 1984). According to Lyotard, discourses are forms of knowledge that are embedded within the language by which we understand and create society. For Lyotard (1984), however, the meanings attached to discourses are continually shifting and so society may be understood to be in a constantly unstable situation. In contrast to Critical Theory, therefore, there is not one 'human condition' from which we can gain emancipation. Power cannot exist as one, stable, repressive force because meanings of discourses are constantly changing. There can be no such thing as repression, for one discourse cannot be privileged over another as their meanings constantly change (Hassard, 1993). Most Postmodernist theories therefore reject the proposals of the Enlightenment. In terms of understanding gender relations, Postmodernism would suggest that 'men' cannot be understood to be repressive 'over women' as these groups are unstable and the meaning of repression is also unstable.

The Postmodernist view that repression cannot be sustained for any length of time has been critiqued by some feminists (McNay, 1992) and organisational theorists (Thompson, 1993). Certain feminists, such as McNay (1992), have argued that while Lyotard's (1984) view of (non)oppression has expressed an entertaining use of language and a utopian vision of power, it does not deal realistically with the practicalities of discrimination and violence against women. For organisational theorists such as Thompson (1993), Postmodernism was viewed as; "absurd and dangerous" (p. 197). He suggested that assumptions about the chaotic nature of power mean that the oppression of workers by employers ceases to be acknowledged.

Initially, it would seem that Postmodernist approaches to understanding gender relations have little to offer research on sport organisations. However the work of Michel Foucault, which has been described as Postmodern (Hassard, 1993; Weedon, 1987), indicated an analysis of power without recourse to an understanding of the world as so unstable that meaning has ceased to exist (McNay, 1992). Unlike many Postmodern writers, Foucault agreed with the

Enlightenment proposal that repression does exist and is historically created (Foucault, 1980; McNay, 1992). Yet Foucault rejected the belief that repression can be overcome through utopian, revolutionary processes, which are proposed within Critical Theories (Foucault, 1984a). He suggested that power is not; “a general system ... exerted by one group over another” (Foucault, 1979, p. 92). Rather, power is relational, these relationships are constantly shifting, and resistance is an integral part of them. This analysis of power is useful for the examination of gender power relations in sport organisations as it refutes the search for universal truths such as ‘all men’ repress ‘all women’. The view of power as relational acknowledges that there are many differing versions of specific events and that power is not a clear, binary ‘a versus b’ phenomenon (Foucault, 1979). The shortcomings of Critical Theories may thus be avoided by using Foucault’s analysis of power.

Although Foucault did not write specifically on gender relations, his work may be adapted to provide an understanding of gender power relations (McNay, 1992), which in turn may be utilised in sport organisations. For Foucault, power is evident within all relationships, including gender relations, and is expressed through discourses. These are ways of viewing the world, based on certain privileged forms of knowledge. Discourses may be understood as; “the structured ways of knowing which are both produced in, and the shapers of, culture. Discourses are not merely linguistic phenomena but are always shot through with power and are institutionalised as practices” (Soper, 1993, p. 123). Power is understood within Foucault’s (1972; 1979; 1980) work to be contingent on specific forms of historically and socially constructed knowledge and it is viewed as relational because resistance is integral to power. Within the analysis of gender relations in sport management, this examination of power is therefore considered to be an invitation to discover and encourage multiple power relations and resistance within those relations.

Historically constructed knowledge

Soper’s (1993) definition of discourses highlighted the connection between power and knowledge that is central to much of Foucault’s work. Power is created through discourses that are influenced by historically constructed knowledge (Foucault, 1972, 1979). For example, Foucault (1979) suggested that the medical profession is an élite establishment because of the myths that are enshrined within medical knowledge. This knowledge has been created and protected over hundreds of years, thus ensuring that laypersons are not privy to it and ensuring that doctors maintain a privileged position in society. Similarly, with gender as a focus, Cockburn (1985) suggested that the modern printing industry is predominantly male dominated. This is because of the historical influence of men who, wishing to exclude women, made printing presses particularly heavy and thus hard for some women to work. The current industry, based largely on ‘light technology’, does not have these physical barriers but remains

male dominated because it is enshrined in the myth of being 'men's work' (Cockburn, 1981). Historically constructed knowledge was therefore exclusionary in both examples (Foucault, 1979) and specifically discriminated against women in Cockburn's (1985) analysis. The protection of knowledge, through the creation of certain traditions, that is the; "special temporal status [for] a group of phenomena" (Foucault, 1972, p. 21) ensured the marginalisation of women from employment positions. Within sport organisations, the historical creation of knowledge and its protection in historical traditions is often highly significant and may feature assumptions about gender, frequently associating women's perceived 'frailty' with a lack of ability to manage (Whitson, 1990). The study of history and traditions within sport organisations is therefore of particular interest to the study of contemporary gender power relations.

Foucault's perspective on the historical construction of power relations differed from that presented by critical theorists as he proposed the acknowledgement of multiple histories. A limitation of Critical Theories is that many diverse historical 'voices' have been ignored in attempts to analyse history as a whole (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992; Foucault, 1972). Various discourses, usually those which relate to men's achievements, have therefore been constructed as central to history, ignoring descriptions of the many successes of women (Hall, 1996). For example, the English media provide constant reminders of the success of England's men's football team winning the 1966 World Cup but ignore similar achievements by women's teams, such as their more recent victory in the 1993 Cricket World Cup (www.bbc.co.uk). By analysing the discourses that are expressed in the reporting of historical events, it is therefore possible to add to the understanding of gender power relations in sport organisations. Foucault (1972) argued that it is possible, by studying multiple histories, to critique the dominant version of history and suggest alternatives. In so doing, it may be possible to identify resistant as well as dominant discourses within power relations. This may highlight and promote resistance to discriminatory traditional practices. For example, within many sport organisations, histories are expressed in terms of their leadership by men, and in the creation of organisations that have attempted to fulfil traditional ambitions of creating 'gentlemen' to run the British Empire (Whitson, 1990). There are, however, alternative histories to be explored, such as what positions did women hold during the creation of these organisations and how were those women perceived? How, if at all, did they resist the creation of discriminatory gender relations? The study of multiple histories therefore enables an understanding of how discourses have been created. It also acknowledges marginalised discourses. The analysis of these histories is presented in more detail in the second section of this chapter.

Socially constructed knowledge

The historical construction of knowledge therefore contextualises modern views about women's and men's abilities. Contemporary power relations are also influenced by discourses that are based on socially constructed knowledge. Following Foucault (1980), such power relations are governed by knowledge that has been developed over many years and, because it is accepted, is usually unchallenged. Foucault (1980) explained how such socially constructed knowledge may be developed when he suggested that; "for years, the ... intellectual spoke and was acknowledged the right of speaking in the capacity of master of truth and justice" (p. 126). The knowledge that such influential individuals possess ensured that they could be identified as the; "strategist of life and death" (Foucault, 1980, p. 129). Such knowledge enables certain people to create 'truth' within society, which, according to Foucault (1980) is intrinsically bound up with power. It is, however, only privileged individuals who are able to create truth, thus the discourses that they favour are reproduced. This favouring of one group or individual over another; "induces irregular effects of power" (Foucault, 1980, p. 131), which may lead to discrimination.

For researchers who are interested in gender relations Foucault's views may provide some insight into the social construction of gender. Gender relations may be understood to be influenced by socially constructed discourses through which truths are created about gender roles, and masculinities and femininities (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998). Gender roles were identified by Acker (1990) as the specific roles that women and men are expected to hold within organisations, i.e. the stereotypical view that 'men are viewed as leaders, women are viewed as secretaries'. These roles have also been identified as public and private roles with men usually accessing roles that are in the 'public eye' and are thus valued in society (Reed, 1996). In contrast, women access private roles that are hidden within organisations and thus receive little credit, recognition or influence (Reed, 1996). The analysis of these roles may give an overall view of the gender composition of an organisation and is described further in the second section of this chapter.

The analysis of gender roles cannot, however, fully account for the rise of some women to powerful positions. A more sophisticated analysis of this phenomenon is evident within the analysis of socially constructed knowledge that is linked to masculinities and femininities. Masculinities, or masculine discourses, are *often* but not exclusively associated with men. They privilege; "rational forms of knowledge in western society" (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998, p. 13) and are valued over femininities, or feminine discourses, which are frequently associated with women. These discourses; "render women invisible, passive, emotional and 'irrational'" (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998, p. 14). The view of masculinities and femininities as socially constructed, multiple entities enables the examination of many different behaviours that are

associated with women and men, thus allowing more flexible analysis than gender roles. The discourses that are embodied in masculinities and femininities reinforce socially constructed knowledge about women's and men's perceived abilities. This 'knowledge' about women's (in)abilities devalues the input to organisations that is associated with femininities, or feminine management styles. The acceptance of these discourses also enables masculinities and practices associated with them, such as competitive rather than co-operative management practices, to become more powerful in organisations (Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998). Those who express femininities, most often women, are therefore assigned to less powerful than those who express masculinities, most often men.

Masculinities and femininities are expressed in diverse areas within organisations, such as in marketing (Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998). In sport, 'feminine' characteristics have long been attributed to women's non-participation and have therefore been undervalued within marketing tactics. Cuneen and Sidwell (1998) for example, found that the few women who are featured in sports advertising are rarely depicted as active participants. They are shown in supportive roles, such as cheerleaders, girlfriends, mothers, or wives. Women are therefore depicted as 'caring' and 'nurturing', expressing femininities. This does not portray women in a positive light, presenting them as passive. Such passivity is linked to feminine discourses, which as Kerfoot and Knights (1998) argued, are not favoured in managerial positions. In terms of sport organisations, women are frequently portrayed as feminine, 'aesthetically pleasing', or caring and thus not to 'belong' in management positions. Meanings associated with women's feminine contributions in sport organisations are thus not associated with influential meanings such as 'leadership' and 'competition' but with 'support' and 'caring'. These characteristics are frequently undervalued within society (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998). From a Foucauldian (1979) perspective, such creation of masculinities and femininities through organisational practices is indicative of the development of socially constructed discourses in which dominant power relations are developed and reinforced.

Masculine and feminine discourses are, as mentioned previously, not necessarily gender specific. Thus, it is possible for dominant masculinities to be expressed in some women's behaviour (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998). It is through the articulation of these discourses that women often gain access to influential positions. Discourses that are expressed through masculinity, rather than those articulated only by men are therefore privileged. This is evident in sport organisations as more women access power but are encouraged to behave in a masculine way to achieve it. Yet women who resist socially constructed knowledge about acceptable behaviour risk accusations of 'acting like men' (Martin, 1994). By analysing the assumptions that lead to socially constructed knowledge, which informs masculine and feminine discourses, it is possible to gain a greater understanding of its influence on gender relations in sport organisations.

Resistance within power relations

Thus far, Foucault's contribution to the analysis of power has given clear indication of how gender power relations may be analysed and better understood within sport organisations through discourse analysis. However, some researchers have suggested that an analysis of power through historically and socially constructed discourses denies any recognition of the possibility for individuals to resist dominant power relations (McNay, 1992; Ransom, 1993). Foucault (1979) highlighted that power was unstable due to its existence as a; "multiplicity of force relations" (p. 92). Resistance within those 'force relations' was key to his analysis and distinguished it from repressive and emancipatory analyses of power. Foucault (1979) stated that resistance is not a binary opposite to power but is an inherent part of the power relationship. It is the; "ceaseless struggles and confrontations [which] transforms, strengthens or reverses [power relations]" (p. 92). Resistance, within power relations, is therefore always challenging and destabilising discriminatory power discourses. Unlike Critical Theory, and central to Foucault's argument, these struggles are multiple and cannot be the result of one movement. Resistance may be developed within all power relationships, for, as Foucault (1980) suggested; "there are many kinds of revolution, roughly speaking as many as there are possible subversive recodifications of power relations" (p. 122). Due to this multiplicity, furthermore, resistance cannot be attributed to one person, one political movement, or one policy as; "there is no single locus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt, source of rebellions ... instead there is a plurality of resistance" (Foucault, 1979, p. 96).

Unlike the analyses of Critical Theory the purpose of resistance for Foucault is therefore not to 'overthrow' power but to continually challenge dominant discourses until they change, through a slow, incremental, non-revolutionary process. In order to challenge power, resistance does not, therefore, have to be well organised or rationally expressed. Resistance may exist in small, disorganised pockets within organisations. For example, an informal comment might remind an individual that sexist behaviour is inappropriate and thus challenge that individual's preconceptions. Even within sport organisations there may be a possibility of resisting and challenging gender power relations. This is because resistance may be understood as an irregular, unplanned entity as; "focuses of resistance are spread over time and space in varying densities" (Foucault, 1979, p. 96). For Foucault (1980), this was the 'micro level' of power, that is, how power may be constructed and challenged within everyday interaction. The macro level of power is expressed at an organisational or policy level. Within sport organisations dominant gender power relations, and resistance to them, are not necessarily formalised in policy. Thus, not only is there a need to analyse the formal, policy level resistance to gender power relations, such as that embodied in gender equity policies, but also to analyse informal expressions of resistance. It is important to note, however, that while resistance may be

informal, it is not a matter of 'chance'. Foucault (1984b) outlined this specifically in his essay *What is Enlightenment?*, in which he attempted to answer critics who felt that his previous essays on resistance had been insubstantial and unable to show how resistance might be cultivated. In *What is Enlightenment?* Foucault (1984b) suggested that, in contrast to the overarching views of critical theory, resistance may be developed through specific knowledge, which he identified as 'local'. By understanding how current societal situations have emerged, through the study of socially and historically constructed knowledge, it is possible for individuals to foster alternative futures. In the case of sport organisations this may mean individuals achieving an understanding of how discriminatory practices have evolved. Rather than interpreting this as inevitable and 'just the way it is', individuals may be able to challenge and change dominant discourses within the organisations.

In summary, Foucault's analysis of power is based on the acknowledgement of historically and socially constructed knowledge, and resistance. While Foucault did not specifically engage in debates on gender relations, his analysis of power discourses through everyday practices can be applied to the examination of gender relations in sport organisations. In order to analyse discourses, Foucault (1972) suggested that it is necessary to; "no longer treat discourses as signs but as practices that systematically inform the objects of which they speak" (p. 49). In the following section, I outline how discourses inform organisational practices and how these may be analysed to examine gender power relations in sport organisations.

Gender, power, and organisational practices

Discourses that inform gender relations may be expressed through organisational practices (Foucault, 1979). To attempt to address all possible organisational practices would be likely to produce a superficial view of gender relations. Rather than attempting to understand the myriad of organisational discourses, it was necessary in this research to select a small number of practices in which discourses could be analysed. This selection process was based on the issues that were discussed above. It was identified that multiple histories and historically constructed knowledge were central to the analysis of power (Foucault, 1972). Therefore, the creation of histories in sport organisations was identified as central to the examination of discourses within sport organisations (Whitson, 1990). Socially constructed knowledge was also identified above as being central to the analysis of power relations (Foucault, 1979) and gender roles, masculinities, and femininities were identified as being embedded with socially constructed, gendered knowledge. Their analysis therefore contributed to the research (Acker, 1990; Kerfoot & Knights, 1998). Foucault (1980) also identified power as being evident at micro and macro levels. The macro level can be identified as the policy level within organisations (Collinson, Knights, & Collinson, 1990). An analysis of policy and micro level reaction to that was thus required. Policies that relate most clearly to gender within

organisations are gender equity policies (Mills, 1993). These policies were therefore identified as the third organisational practice for analysis. Finally, a focus on micro level power was required. This was identified through the practice of organisational networking. It has influence on the creation of gender power relations, as it is frequently carried out by individuals of the same sex (Brass, 1985; Hovden, 2000). The four organisational practices that were selected were therefore the creation of organisational histories; the creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities; the creation and implementation of equity policies; and organisational networking. The following sections examine how discourses are expressed within each organisational practice and how these discourses may affect gender relations.

The creation of organisational histories

It was indicated above that, in the examination of power relations, the analysis of histories contextualises current discourses that are embodied within organisational practices (Foucault, 1972). The analysis of history has often been undervalued in much of the organisational literature and relatively few studies have examined the historical context of organisations (Collinson et al., 1990; Pettigrew, 1977). Yet, in the examination of gender power relations in this research, the analysis of organisational history was identified as important because it contextualised the discourses that informed current organisational practices such as networking and policy making (Foucault, 1972). In sport organisations, history, and specifically privileged moments of history i.e. traditions, have been identified as playing a large part in the construction of gender relations (Wheatley, 1994). The existence of 'men only' sports clubs and the under-representation of women in influential positions have been identified as a result of traditions. These were based on the use of sport to produce 'gentlemen' to run the British Empire (Whitson, 1990) and the perpetuation of ideals surrounding British 'masculinity' (Gilroy & Clarke, 1997). Many individuals within sport organisations are proud of their 'masculine' traditions and argue that traditions are an integral part of organisations and should be continued in the face of encroaching modernisation (Guardian, 1998, 30 September). The exclusive nature of these traditions have often been discriminatory against women and the promotion of women's interests (Hargreaves, 1994). In the analysis of gender power relations in sport organisations, therefore, the analysis of history is not just a description of events. A detailed analysis of organisational history therefore enables an identification of discourses that inform current organisational practices, which are a constitutive part of gender relations.

In addition to the effect of traditions, multiple versions of organisational histories were identified as influential in the construction of gender relations in sport organisations. Although it is often assumed within society that there is only one version of history, there are many (Foucault, 1972). Some of these, most often those expressed by women, are marginalised in versions of histories created by dominant men (Calás & Smircich, 1992a; Martin, 2000). The defence of the dominant view of history is important to those in influence, for as Foucault has

argued; “the cry goes up that one is murdering history whenever, in a historical analysis, one is seen too obviously to be using in too obvious a way the categories of discrimination and difference” (Foucault, 1972, p. 14). Rather than ‘murdering history’ in an attempt to identify multiple histories, however, there is value in analysing the many versions of historical events in this research. This is because the analysis of histories provides a deeper and more inclusive context for understanding current organisational practices than the proposal that there is one ‘true’ history (Calás & Smircich, 1992a). This examination of multiple histories enables the highlighting of various women’s and men’s histories that might otherwise have gone unnoticed. The analysis of histories also enables a questioning of the ‘taken for granted truths’ that have been historically constructed in organisations which often privileges specific, dominant men and masculinities with relation to women and femininities (Martin, 1996). The multiple historical realities, which were identified by Foucault (1972) as important in the understanding of current organisational discourses, were therefore examined in this research.

Within this research, it was therefore necessary to be aware of the potential for multiple historical texts rather than a single ‘true’ version of organisational history (Foucault, 1972; Foucault, 1980). As Vertinsky (1994) has argued, sport history that acknowledges and includes women’s experiences; “seeks to forge new understandings of ... the social construction of gender by examining gender as a dynamic, relational process through which unequal power between women and men has been continually constructed and contested” (p. 12). The analysis of multiple histories therefore allowed traditions to be questioned and alternative ‘truths’ to be voiced. More specifically, by including women’s and other marginalised groups’ versions of history, it was possible to develop a fuller picture of the current context of sport organisations and this highlighted where practices have been, and continue to be, discriminatory. The analysis of histories alone could not, however, give a full insight into current discourses on gender relations in sport organisations. It was also necessary to analyse how gender power relations were created through other means, such as gender roles and the social construction of masculinities and femininities.

The creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities

Gender roles are identified as the gender specific, socially constructed attributes that are associated with being a man or a woman (Acker, 1990). The perception of ‘gender roles’ within organisations has been identified as an example of individuals’ interpretations of the capabilities of women and men (Acker, 1990). Women are often perceived to be ‘carers’ and men as ‘leaders’ (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). The jobs at the top end of the hierarchy are those with greatest responsibility, and therefore need the most commitment. Those who have few external commitments and who, in a patriarchal society, are often men may fill these responsible roles. They are therefore more valued than those in voluntary and part time employment, in which women constitute the majority (Kay, 1996).

While the examination of gender roles provides a starting point for the analysis of gender as a power relation in sport organisations, it does not allow for the possibility of each sex to display the socially constructed attributes of the other. The isolated analysis of gender roles does not focus on heterogeneity, the examination of which was established as central within Foucault's (1979) work on power. Such an analysis is possible through the examination of gender roles *and* masculinities and femininities. Masculinities, or masculine discourses are expressed by most men and some women. They are discourses that are; "rational forms of knowledge in western society" (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998, p. 13). Women who want to gain power in a patriarchal society, of which sport organisations are a part, may have to exhibit masculinities (Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998). As Martin (1996) has suggested; "when a woman adopts a 'male interactional style', I have heard men describe her by saying 'she kicks ass with the best of them'" (p. 191). This view was relevant for sport organisations in England at the time of the research, as the increased 'professionalisation' of some sport organisations has resulted in the adoption of work practices that focus on accountability and aggression in funding bids (English Sports Council, 1997a). These changes are associated with the development of masculine work practices (Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998). Women who want to achieve within these organisations must therefore be included within dominant practices and may have to express masculinities. The analysis of discourses that were expressed in the appropriation of masculinities by women is complex. On the one hand such efforts by women may be understood as resistance to views of women as 'feminine'. In contrast, this adoption of 'masculinity' by women may also be understood as conformity to gendered power relations, as it did not challenge the dominance of masculinities. Women's expression of masculine work practices may not be successful; "men may view women's enactments of masculinities as illegitimate and/or unattractive. The community of work to which men orient their behaviour ... is... a world by and for men; women may fit uneasily in this community except in subordinate, supportive positions" (Martin, 1996, p. 191).

Not all women, however, want to gain access to power. They may continue to express work practices that are associated with 'femininity'. Femininities, or feminine discourses, although often expressed by women, may also be expressed by men. They are discourses which; "render women [and some men] invisible, passive, emotional and 'irrational'" (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998, p. 14). The analysis of femininities is complex as their expression may be analysed as resistance to societal norms as the women who express them value that which, in society, is undervalued. This may, however, also be understood as conformity for voluntary and part time work may be all that fit in with the demands of child care, which, in a patriarchal society, is often associated with women. Women may therefore choose voluntary and part time employment positions but within restrictive societal guidelines thus conforming to societal norms and pressures. Men's appropriation of femininities was examined by Kerfoot and

Whitehead (1998) who suggested that some men within Further Education had become disenchanted with the; “confrontational style of managing, routine intimidation and humiliation” (Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998, p. 447). As a result, they did not want to continue to identify with masculine workplace behaviours. They may be understood to have exhibited femininities, which were ridiculed by colleagues.

Analysis of masculinities and femininities therefore focused the research on socially constructed individual identities that were expressed by women or men, in addition to the social attributes which were considered to be gender specific. Masculinities and femininities often appear to be recreated in organisations with little challenge to the dominance of masculine discourses. An attempt at a formal challenge to them is evident in gender equity policies, the analysis of which also added to understanding of gendered power relations.

The creation and implementation of gender equity policies

Gender equity policies are identified as a direct attempt to redress some of the imbalance in power faced by women within organisations. Gender equity policies were prompted in the UK by the Sex Discrimination Act (1975), and were first known as ‘equal opportunities’ policies (Cockburn, 1990). Within these early, optimistic policies, the potential for transformation within organisations was expressed through slogans such as; ‘equal pay for work of equal value’, the opportunity for women to enter into management, and the possibility to; “do things differently from men” (Cockburn, 1990, p. 75). However, the implementation of equality policies was not without problems, as historical assumptions of men’s and women’s roles remained unchallenged (Cockburn, 1990). For example, ‘equal pay for work of equal value’ could not be transformed into reality if women’s work was not perceived by managers to be of equal value to men’s work (Cockburn, 1990). Discriminatory assumptions about gender by managers and workers ensured that equal opportunities policies were viewed as a peripheral, administrative appendix to the organisation, rather than an intrinsic part of organisational philosophy (Cockburn, 1990).

The resulting dissatisfaction with the ineffectiveness of equal opportunities policies led to their re-launch under the banner of ‘equity policies’ (Mills, 1993). With broadly similar objectives to equal opportunities policies, in terms of promoting transformation, equity policies additionally aimed to change the culture of organisations and attitudes towards minority groups. The premise of equity policies was that while these various groups might still encounter difficulties, problems would be addressed within an environment that challenged discrimination. Hall (1996) described this as; “a more comprehensive view in which the focus is no longer exclusively on women (or any other group) but on a system ... that needs to change to accommodate them” (p. 90). As indicated above, however, many organisations’ histories are influenced by masculinities (Martin, 1996). Equity policies alone, while legally required, have arguably done little to positively promote change in institutionalised attitudes (Mills, 1993). The

challenges of creating equity policies in 'masculine' sport organisations may be similar to those that were examined in Cockburn's (1990) analysis of such policies. By analysing the discourses that inform the creation and implementation of equity policies in the organisations in this research, it was possible to identify 'macro' levels of power that are embedded in policy. Foucault (1980) suggested that such analysis does not go far enough. In order to access the heart of the matter, he suggested that analyses of micro levels of power, which is expressed by individuals, must be undertaken. In order to fulfil this and contribute further to the examination of gender power relations, the analysis of informal discourses about gender equity policies were addressed in this research.

Creation of equity policies

While encouraging an attempt to address some issues of gender discrimination, the creation of gender equity policies have been largely ineffective (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992). One reason for this has been a tendency within equity policies to ignore the potential for alternative managerial styles. While equity policies may be presented as avenues to manage people in a supportive manner, the policies are in fact often based on a very narrow view of 'acceptable practice'. Gender equity policies are; "identified with the provision of opportunities for the fulfilment of their [individuals'] needs (as long as this fulfilment coexists with and, especially, improves organizational performance)" (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992, p. 433). Thus, equity policies have been identified in the literature as favouring existing, 'acceptable' management practices (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992; Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998; Lehman, 1996). These organisational practices are often identified as masculine, embodying discourses such as competition and confrontation and aggression in management styles (Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998). By ignoring other management styles, such as those which embody discourses of co-operation, the creation of equity policies tends to reinforce, rather than challenge, influential discourses.

Equity policies may not have reached their potential to change current organisational practices because their direction and construction is often in the hands of those whose interests lie in the failure of equity policies. To be effective, equity policies need to challenge the dominance of masculinities in sport organisations. It may not be in the interests of managers, who embody dominant masculinities, to challenge their own values (Hultin & Szulkin, 1999). It is therefore debatable whether managers present a forceful challenge to discourses which favour masculinities (Cockburn, 1990; Hultin & Szulkin, 1999). Gender equity policies may therefore be created at a macro level in the organisation but within the parameters of masculine agendas. In many sport organisations, gender equity policies must be created for legal and funding reasons, yet may remain a low priority. The creation and implementation of gender equity policies was therefore important to the analysis of gender power relations in sport organisations.

This research into gender equity policies was timely as many sport organisations in England have been instructed by Sport England to create and implement such policies.

Implementation of equity policies

The challenges that are inherent in the implementation of equity policies within organisations have established such policies as an important reference point from which to examine gender relations (Mills, 1993). Mills (1993) argued that gender equity policies are perceived by managers to be unattractive to implement and gender equity therefore receives little investment. A study of young student lawyers found that, in principle, the students were in favour of equity (Wetherall, 1987, cited in Mills, 1993). The young lawyers also felt that the implementation of equity policies for women's promotion would be futile because of the 'natural urges' of women to have children and therefore to break their career path. The 'essential' nature of women was therefore, according to the student lawyers, to have children, compared to men who wanted a career. This view of the sexes, which Mills (1993) argued is commonly held, allows equity policies to be seen, at a micro level, as worthy but inevitably futile and therefore not worth a great deal of investment. These policies were therefore referred to as a 'good thing' but failed to be fully implemented due to socially constructed barriers based on existing assumptions about women and their roles in organisations. By examining the discourses that informed, and were expressed within, the implementation of such policies in this research, it was possible to identify some of the discourses that influenced their role in constructing gendered power relations. Equity policies were, however, just one of a number of ways in which gender power relations are constructed. The final organisational practice that was identified as defining gender relations was networking.

Organisational networking

The study of networking within organisations presents further insight into organisational practices that construct gender power relations (Hultin & Szulkin, 1999). For example, the analysis of discourses that are expressed in social interaction enable further understanding of gender relations in such situations (Rosen, 1991a). Rosen (1991a) suggested that, at corporate gatherings, certain rituals and practices may be followed, such as seating arrangements and 'correct' reactions to speeches. Being seated at the 'head table' indicates power, whereas an incorrect reaction to a speech may jeopardise future influence. The ability to access informally created networks of supervisors and top executives is crucial within organisational life (Brass, 1985). With regard to analysing discourses that inform gender power relations, it has been argued that "women do not have equal access to informal interactions and communications ... they may not receive the possibly valuable information, resources or support that often comes with inclusion in such networks" (Brass, 1985, p. 327-328). It is therefore useful to examine social interaction in which gender is a key exclusion/inclusion factor. Hultin and Szulkin (1999)

suggested that; “gender similarity between human agents is likely to promote social contacts and ties within organisations” (Hultin & Szulkin, 1999, p. 458). They further suggested that these networks; “have been shown to be systems for mobilizing resources, transmitting information, making decisions and acquiring power.” (ibid, p. 458). An example of influential social interaction, often dominated by men, is evident within many sport organisations where ad hoc appointments based on friendship are still considered acceptable practice (Kidd, 1990). This may provide inclusionary networks for some men but will exclude women.

Analysing the discourses that inform, and are expressed through, the establishment of organisational networks provides insight and explanation as to how power discourses reinforces discriminatory practices within organisations (Woodward, 1996). For example, discussing sports news and events is considered to be an excellent way of developing professional opportunities. It is perceived to be a ‘common ground’ through which conversations can start and lead on to more ‘serious’ issues (Collinson et al., 1990; Woodward, 1996). Within her studies on the prevalence of ‘masculine’ forms of networking within the European Union, Woodward (1996) highlighted football as a topic of conversation for many informal discussions. While women were not actively excluded from such discussions, there was an underlying assumption by men that women were not interested in football conversations. If they did join in, women were perceived by their male colleagues to be ‘forcing’ their way into a masculine culture. Discourses are clearly identifiable within this relationship between casual conversation and links to networks. Women were assumed by men not to have knowledge in this area or to be considered to be ‘unusual’ if they did (Woodward, 1996). Therefore the many men who did talk about sports were able to initiate conversations based on a common knowledge which included their interests and excluded many women’s interests. This example clearly identifies a link between gender and Foucault’s (1979) discussion on the relationship between power and socially constructed knowledge.

Other presentations of gendered power discourses that are embedded in organisational networking have been analysed through the construction of humour (Collinson, 1992). Collinson identified sexual humour as particularly influential in re-creating gender relations. Within his study of a factory shopfloor, Collinson (1992) analysed humour as a presentation of discourses of men’s power over women. ‘Humour’ that identified women as merely sexual objects was used by men on the shopfloor to ‘prove’ their power over women. Sport organisations are not without their share of sexist ‘humour’ (Kidd, 1990). The extent to which this aids the construction of gendered power relations has not been analysed. Furthermore, the interpretation of such humour by those at whom it is aimed may provide insights into resistance or acceptance of dominant discourses.

Personal appearance, such as dress codes, also provides insight into gender relations. It is not just the clothes but the way in which they are worn that creates or denies access to certain

organisational networks (Adkins, 1992). In certain service industries, for example, women are not only required to wear a dress rather than trousers, it is requested that the hem is very short, or the dress is worn 'off the shoulder' (Adkins, 1992). Other women, in senior positions, who have choice over what they wear, may adopt a 'uniform' which may enable them to feel that they are on a level with men (Sheppard, 1989). As Sheppard (1989) argued; "(t)he padded suit shoulders, the understated colours, the tailored, conservative styling all mimic masculine dress, and attempt to confer on women the same kind of status men have" (p. 148). The gendered power discourses that may be expressed through dress codes may, as with other networking issues, be inclusionary or exclusionary. While some leisure organisations require an official uniform, most sport organisations do not. Within sport organisations however, a tie or blazer crest may be worn by some men. This is often indicative of an 'old boys network' or at least membership to an organisation. For those who did not usually wear ties, such as women and some men, this membership token may be exclusionary. The ability to express belonging was therefore inaccessible to those who do not wish to wear certain items of clothing in this research. The discourses expressed through personal appearance therefore provided further depth to the analysis of gender power relations within sport organisations. The analysis of personal appearance, social interaction and humour may be identified as key to understanding networking which is the final of the four organisational practices.

Summary of Chapter Two

In summary, gender relations in sport organisations are power relations, mostly dominated by men and masculinities. The dominance of masculinities, and resistance to this, can be understood through the analysis of gendered power relations. Power has been identified as being understood through the historical and social construction of knowledge and resistance within power relations (Foucault, 1972, 1979). Power relations are constructed through the influence of discourses. Discourses may be understood as the values and beliefs that are created by socially accepted knowledge and power. Discourses also influence knowledge about gender relations as they are recreated and reiterated through organisational practices. The analysis of gendered power relations can take place through an understanding of such organisational practices. In this research, these have been identified as the creation of organisational histories; the creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities; the creation and implementation of gender equity policies; and organisational networking. In the following chapter, I outline the methodology that enabled the analysis of these organisational practices.

Chapter three: Methodology

In the previous chapter, I outlined the theoretical framework that underpinned this research. It was argued that the discourses which influence gender power relations may be analysed through four key organisational practices. These are the construction of histories; the creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities; the creation and implementation of gender equity policies; and organisational networking. In order to develop an understanding of gender power relations operating in sport organisations, therefore, an analysis of the four key organisational practices was undertaken. This chapter outlines the selection of a research paradigm; the choice of research sites; negotiations with gatekeepers and access to the sites; data collection; ethical considerations; data analysis; and writing issues arising in this research

The selection of a research paradigm

The framework for the research was designed around a Foucauldian analysis of power. Central to this was the analysis of discourses that influenced the creation of gender power relations. Discourses may be expressed through the written word, speech, pictorially, and through body language. It was therefore necessary to select a research paradigm by which each of these could be analysed. Multiple methods that were required to assist such research and to gather in depth data are inherent in the qualitative paradigm (Burgess, 1984). While the reporting of methods may be presented in a style that suggests that they were chosen with a 'rational' plan in mind, it is worth highlighting Van Maanen's (1998) interpretation of the use of qualitative methods. In this he stated; "[w]hat makes qualitative research particularly difficult to pin down is its flexibility and emergent character. Qualitative research is most often designed as it is being done ... It is a style of research that makes room for the unanticipated" (Van Maanen, 1998, p. xi). It was this approach that was used in this research.

Components of the qualitative paradigm

Views on gender relations are based on socially constructed subjectivities (Kerfoot, 1998). The qualitative paradigm welcomes the articulation of discourses through in depth and detailed data that reflect individuals' subjectivities (Cottle, 1982). It is suggested within this paradigm that subjectivity provides depth and enables participants in the research to express the reality of their lived experiences (Burgess, 1984; Vertinsky, 1994). This contrasts to the quantitative paradigm, in which both researchers' and participants' subjectivities may be understood as 'bias'. The distinct characteristics of the qualitative paradigm were therefore essential and integral to this research.

The qualitative paradigm also prompted the use of multiple methods in the research design (Silverman, 2000). This was valuable as, for example, it was possible to collect historical data from interviews and compare this data to documentary analysis of organisational handbooks and other documents. Similar uses of multiple methods were employed to analyse

the expression of discourses within the organisational practices. For example through interviews, documentary analysis and participant observation, it was possible to analyse the construction of gender roles. Documentary analysis and interviews gave insights into the creation and implementation of gender equity policies. Participant observation, a research diary, and interviews enabled the examination of discourses that were expressed in organisational networking. The combination of these methods also enabled triangulation of the data. These methods and the practice of triangulation are discussed in more detail later.

In addition to multiple methods, the qualitative paradigm enabled the creation of a dynamic relationship between the data and research design (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). This flexibility within the research design enabled an appropriate choice of research methods at various points within the research process. As data were collected from the organisations, it was possible to change the emphasis on a particular method if that method was not suitable in certain circumstances. For example, in one organisation, individuals were reticent to be interviewed until my knowledge of the organisation was fairly detailed. In the early stages of the research, therefore, I read organisational documents to improve my knowledge about that organisation. Within the other organisations, some participants regarded interviews as a useful medium to inform me about the organisation. It was then possible to compare, complement, and corroborate the information that I had gained through these interviews by analysing relevant documents.

The qualitative paradigm also encouraged an emphasis on reflection on my own involvement in the research. Specifically, I was aware of my own impact on the research and the research process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). My initial involvement in the research was due to a belief that gender power relations in sport organisations were discriminatory, a wish to understand these relations further, and analyse the potential for change. This was based on my experiences in sport development prior to this research. Through my involvement in the research process, gathering and interpreting data were a form of knowledge creation to which I was intrinsically linked. The presentation of this knowledge was influenced by subjectivities that were related to these beliefs (Jones, 1985a). This was an inevitable and unavoidable part of the research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). It was not only my knowledge that was affected by subjectivities but also that of the respondents, who may have expressed comments that they thought I wanted to hear, such as claiming that the organisations were equitable (Jones, 1985a). Within the data collection and analysis this potential for knowledge creation was acknowledged. While the qualitative paradigm encourages such reflection, it also suggests safeguards against extreme discrepancies in either the respondents' or researchers' creation of knowledge which are discussed below (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Before the data collection could proceed, it was necessary to select a number of sport organisations as potential sites for the research.

Choice of research sites

The selection criteria for the research sites were influenced by the theoretical argument that gender power relations are identified through discourses that are expressed through organisational practices (Foucault, 1979). These key organisational practices have been identified as the influence of history; the creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities; the creation and implementation of gender equity policies; and organisational networking. Thus, the criteria for the selection of the research sites were that the four key organisational practices had to be an integral part of the sport organisations that were approached to be involved with this research. Of the four organisational practices, the existence of gender equity policies was identified as a clear criterion for selection. As organisations either did or did not have such policies, this characteristic was used to identify suitable organisations. A current issue in national sport policy is the requirement of English sport's National Governing Bodies (NGBs) to have equity policies, of which gender equity must be a part (Sport England, 1999). This requirement is made by Sport England and is outlined in documents such as *A Sporting Future for All* (DCMS, 2000), *Making English sport inclusive: Equity guidelines for governing bodies* (Sport England, 2000), and *England, the Sporting Nation: a Strategy* (English Sports Council, 1997a). Consequently, NGBs were identified as sport organisations whose existence depends partly on having gender equity policies. National Governing Bodies, of which there are approximately thirty in England⁶, therefore became an initial focus as potential research sites.

Further selection from this group of NGBs was required, as a loss of depth and detail was inevitable if data were collected from each of the thirty NGBs (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). The number of organisations to be approached was reduced by applying further selection criteria. These were based on the remaining three organisational practices through which discourses of gender power relations may be expressed. The influence of history was a key criterion in this refining process. All organisations have some historical influence (Pettigrew, 1977) and in the case of NGBs, this dates from approximately 10 years to nearly 140 years. It has been suggested that organisational age may be a factor in the expression of different discourses that are central in the construction of gender power relations (Baron et al., 1991). In order to compare the different historical backgrounds to the creation of gender relations within sport organisations, it was important to identify NGBs that represented the 'older' and 'newer' organisations, hence one of the three organisations was 10 years old and one was over 100 years old.

⁶ An approximate figure only. An accurate figure could not be provided by Sport England because of the fluctuating nature of some funding agreements.

The further selection of the NGBs was enabled through the identification of masculine and feminine discourses. For the purposes of this research, it was decided to focus on NGBs that employed women and men at voluntary and professional levels, thus views on both sexes could be expressed within the organisations. All except one NGB funded by Sport England employed both women and men, therefore this criterion only removed one organisation from the research. However, in the preliminary analysis of gender roles in NGBs, one organisation stood out as intriguing amongst the others. This organisation had recently amalgamated previously distinct men's and women's organisations, and for the first time in over one hundred years, women and men worked together. This recent organisational change led to the assumption in the research that gender roles and the creation of masculinities and femininities were undergoing some interesting developments. Furthermore, the organisation's literature suggested that the development of integrated management was one of some controversy (Moore, 1994). The research period coincided with recent changes within this organisation. It was therefore decided that these changes might give some valuable insights into assumptions about women's and men's management abilities within this NGB. Hence this organisation became the third to be approached within the research. Organisational networking was the final practice that was identified as constructing gender power relations. This practice has been highlighted as an integral part of sport organisations (Kidd, 1990) and was not therefore deemed to be a key criterion for selection but remained as an organisational practice for the expression of the construction of gender power relations.

Three NGBs were therefore selected as potential research sites. They were named, for reasons of confidentiality, as NGBs A, B, and C. More detail on each organisation is provided in Chapter 4. Once chosen, each NGB was approached via negotiation with 'gatekeepers'.

Negotiation with gatekeepers and access to the organisations

The initial contact within the NGBs was made through gatekeepers. The term gatekeepers refers to powerful individuals within organisations who facilitate, but also restrict, access (Morrill, Buller, Buller, & Larkey, 1999). They were a necessary part of the research process as it was useful to have one or more named individuals to access, particularly in the early stages of research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). I was aware from the start of the research that 'acceptance' from the gatekeepers would necessitate some 'negotiation' on my part. My initial vision of the organisations was similar to that of Morrill et al. (1999). They described their entrée into a research project with a "naïve, tacit vision of top managers ... decision makers who could decide whether or not to guarantee access to all parts of their organisations" (Morrill et al., 1999, p. 55). It became clear in this research that there were various formal and informal networks of power within the organisations (Morrill et al., 1999). Access to the organisations did not always come from 'the top'. Consequently, I identified a

gatekeeper at each site through contacts of friends and colleagues. The gatekeepers were all influential in their organisation but their positions varied; one was a Chief Executive Officer, one a Senior Administrator, and one a National Development Officer. Each gatekeeper was sent a standardised letter, outlining my proposals (see appendix A). The aim of this letter was to inform the gatekeepers of my request to investigate gender relations within the NGBs. A particular focus within the letter was reference to the equity requirements of Sport England. In return, I offered a period of voluntary work over a six to twelve month period. The reference to gender equity and the offer of work would, I hoped, be a 'hook' to interest the NGBs in the research. The proposals in the letter outlined my commitment to a detailed study with the NGBs and explained my wish to have ongoing entry into the organisations for a research period that would be determined with the organisations. The provisional letter received a mixed reception, with NGB C writing back enthusiastically, asking for a preliminary meeting and NGB A thanking me for my offer of voluntary work. National Governing Body B did not reply to my letter; but after a follow up telephone call to explain my proposals further and to reassure them that I would not take up undue time or space, they were enthusiastic about the research.

Reflection on the role of gatekeepers allowed various analytical points to be raised. A gatekeeper's reaction to, and perspective on, the research gave me a valuable first impression of their organisation and its views relating to the importance of equity in sport organisations. Their influence also directed my questions to certain individuals and groups, at least in the early stages. The gatekeepers were thus influential in the creation of my knowledge about the organisations. Latterly, I perceived that I was able to ask questions without permission. However, this later autonomy was highly dependent on the gatekeeper's initial view of me. For example, in NGB A, the gatekeeper insisted that I work with the regional development officers before accessing national Head Office. The involvement with NGB A therefore came as a result of investigations from the 'bottom up' of the organisation rather than the 'top down'. My ongoing progress into the organisations was therefore reliant on acceptance by the gatekeepers with whom I was involved. Through negotiations with the gatekeepers, I was able to embark upon data collection within the organisations. The schedule for this is illustrated in Table 1 (p. 31). As can be seen, the data collection period lasted for nearly eleven months, thus allowing reflection on data methods that is an integral part of qualitative research.

Data Collection

As indicated above, the qualitative paradigm allowed the use and integration of multiple research methods. The use of multiple methods has been identified as ethnographic (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). This is not to claim that this research was an ethnography that; "studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting during a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily, observational data" (Cresswell, 1994, p. 11). Such a definition of

ethnography implies living in, and becoming a member of, a culture. In organisations, an ethnography is; “predominantly concerned with those social relations coalesced around a subset of goal-oriented activities ... People interact with each other according to this action and meaning subset for the duration of the specialized activity” (Rosen, 1991b, p. 3). Due to the number of organisations involved and the amount of access gained, such ‘sustained immersion’ was not possible within this research. Consequently this research cannot be categorised as an ethnography but rather as utilising ethnographic methods and the principles of critical ethnography. The latter are described by Cresswell (1994) as useful tools to; “challenge research, policy and other forms of human activity” (p. 11). By utilising ethnographic methods, which are described below, it was possible to examine the organisational practices that were identified in Chapter 2 and thus analyse the discourses that contributed to the creation of gender power relations.

Bryman (1989) indicated that interviews and participant observation are the most commonly used methods within qualitative research. These methods were utilised in this research and supplemented by documentary analysis and a research diary (Bryman, 1989). The following sections describe the interplay of various methods that enabled access to, and analysis of, the organisational practices in which gender power relations are expressed. The description of the methods used is therefore not chronological but identifies each method and how it was used.

Table 1: Outline of research schedule

Date	NBG A	NGB B	NGB C
November 1998	Preliminary letter sent	Preliminary letter sent	Preliminary letter sent
December, 1998			
January, 1999	Initial meeting	Initial meeting	
February, 1999	Meeting with development team		Initial meeting
March, 1999	Follow up interview with Director of Development, establish interview schedule for development officers		Establish initial interviews
April, 1999	Interviews with DOs (ongoing to June, 1999)		
May, 1999		Attend development meeting	
June, 1999	Attend regional meetings	Begin interviews (to July, 1999)	Documentary analysis of merger Attend AGM
July, 1999	Attend ‘equity day’ Access gained to senior managers	Interviews with voluntary directors and paid employees	Further interviews with senior managers
August, 1999			Short term work as events manager, invitational tournament

Documentary evidence

The importance of documentary evidence for contextualising current organisational practice, providing the basis for interview questions, and comparing individuals' views against organisational practice has been well highlighted (Burgess, 1982a). Documentary analysis is also a key to historical analysis (Burgess, 1982a). The influence of key historical events in sport organisations has been established as one of the central theoretical issues of the research. Documentary analysis was therefore used as a reference resource for the analysis of history and policy.

The documents that were used in this research comprised four main groups. The first established the general histories of the organisations and were produced for anniversaries, such as centenary events. These documents were useful for analysing key historical events and their influence on current practices. The second form of documents were specific policies, such as gender equity policies and development plans, which were constructed to plot the proposed development of the organisations over a period of time, usually from five to ten years. Sport England required that these policies had a section on equity. The documents indicated the requirements of Sport England and the responses by NGBs. In addition, minutes, comprising the third group of documents, were analysed from meetings. These gave insight into the formal discussions that took place within the organisations. Minutes were useful for identifying questions for interviews. The fourth form of document was annual handbooks, prepared for members of each organisation to show contact names, exhibit advertising and list award winners. NGB B provided *The Handbook for Women* (NGB B, 1998a), in addition to their main handbook, which gave specific information on training for female athletes. The current and past versions of all of these handbooks proved to be invaluable in providing contact and historical details. Documentary evidence therefore provided historical reference and information on current policy and practice initiatives. From these documents, interview questions were developed on areas of relevance to the research. For example, where a commitment to an equity policy was identified in a strategic plan, questions were then asked about this initiative.

Interviews

Interviews allow some rapport to be gained within the research between interviewer and interviewee (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Interviews were chosen as they prompted the collection of more in depth data than questionnaires. The method of interviewing has been dichotomised into 'structured' and 'unstructured' (Burgess, 1982b). The technique used most closely resembles the unstructured interview in which, as Burgess, (1982b) has suggested; "the researcher has to establish a framework within which the interview can be conducted; the unstructured interview is flexible, but it is also controlled" (p. 107). The purpose of a qualitative

interview, therefore, was to try to encourage the interviewee to articulate their views of gender power relations through their interpretations of organisational practices. This was not the result of the; “current horror that many students of qualitative methods develop for what they call, with spite, positivism” (Van Maanen, 1998, p. xiv) but of a requirement to obtain in depth data. The interviews were conducted with a list of ten to twelve questions (see appendix B). The interviews were taped and transcribed and each interviewee signed an informed consent form (see appendix C). The premise of the questions was to gain information on discourses that defined gender power relations in sport organisations. This potentially sensitive subject was addressed through questions about the four key organisational practices. Thus, the questions were based on the relevant literature. Interviewees were asked about the history of the organisation and women’s and men’s positions within historical events; the usefulness of gender equity policies and how they were implemented; the organisational roles held by women and men and the skills each had; and the structure and importance of organisational networks. Through these questions, interviewees were able to express their opinions, or discourses, about gender power relations. The organisational practices were familiar to most of the respondents and they were able to talk quite freely about the practices. The interviews took on a conversational tone, that might not have been the case with more direct questions about ‘gender’ and ‘power’. However, the interviewees did not reply unthinkingly to the questions. They were not; “cultural dupes, but ... persons who *construct* the meaning and significance of their realities” (Jones, 1985a, p. 46). In total, I carried out thirty ‘formal interviews’, that is, those which were taped and transcribed. In order to establish the formal interviews, appointments were made, at times months in advance. The majority of these were kept with only three being continually postponed until eventually cancelled by the interviewee due to time constraints. This frustrating experience gave me some insight into the power of the interviewee.

I interviewed twelve members of NGB A, seven members of NGB B and eleven members of NGB C. Fourteen of the interviewees were women, sixteen were men. For the smallest of the organisations, NGB B, interviewing the majority of staff was unproblematic. For the larger organisations, NGBs A and C, it was necessary to be selective in deciding whom to interview. As gender equity policies were clearly a key issue in this research, those who created policies were prioritised for interview. Support staff and middle managers were involved in implementing those policies and where interviewed were possible. Development staff were also interviewed within the research process. In the case of NGB B, there were only two development staff and they were involved in policy decisions. Consequently, they were interviewed along with their senior voluntary colleagues. In NGB C, Development Officers were a relatively new addition to the staff structure. Development Officers often worked in relative isolation from head office and it was felt that, in terms of analysing the everyday gender relations of the NGB C, the most informed data would come from the experiences of those at

Head Office. This decision to interview mostly senior policy makers may appear to challenge Foucault's (1980) contention that power relations occur not only at the policy level of power but at a micro level. 'Micro' in this case is interpreted as being individuals' everyday experiences, rather than those expressed in policy. Thus, micro power can exist at all levels of the organisational hierarchy and the focus on senior organisational members did not lead to the under-representation of micro power.

The shortest interview took fifteen minutes. In that situation, I was the focus of a person who had; "the social skill, if not always the overt positional power, to manage and control an interview as effectively as their researchers, including being able to declare that the question they have just been asked is irrelevant and/or meaningless to them" (Jones, 1985a, p. 47). I could only encourage this particular interviewee to say "I don't know" or "this has puzzled me and I don't know". I found this frustrating, as it proved that my role as a researcher was highly dependent on the whims of individuals to answer questions. However, the remainder of the interviews were more encouraging, lasting from approximately forty five minutes to two hours. The data from these interviews are utilised in the discussion chapters.

In addition to this, I had numerous 'informal' conversations with individuals, which I documented in a field diary. These more casual interviews took place mainly with support staff or at breaks during meetings. Initially, I had asked for a formal interview with some of the administrative staff. They clearly stated, however, that they did not want to be involved in tape recorded interviews or be viewed in any way disloyal to the organisation. Although I tried to reassure them that this would not be the case, they were clearly not comfortable with the interview process. Consequently, I engaged in conversations with them whenever I attended the organisations. Some of the support staff were friendly and willing to engage in chat, others clearly felt that I was an intruder and often used props, such as avoiding eye contact, turning their chair away from mine, and in one organisation, closing a glass screen between themselves and me. Other conversation opportunities arose during breaks and when I was asked to attend various meetings. Wherever possible these conversations were recorded in my notebook or field diary, usually covertly. The ethical issues that are associated with this are identified below. This field diary was also to prove useful when I wished to write notes from participant observation.

Participant observation

Interviews provided excellent data in terms of enabling people to tell their stories and describe their realities verbally. Participant observation enabled a contextualisation of that information, as it was possible to relate interviewees' comments to observed organisational practices (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). This was to prove to be one of the more challenging data collection methods and was integrated within the interviews and general observation of the daily activities of people in the organisation. Consequently I was able to substantiate interview data on gender power relations within the context of organisational practices. Participant

observation may be represented as a continuum with the 'observer' at one end having little to do with the everyday working of the society or organisation other than to observe it. As Rosen has argued, issues of trust are less likely to be a problem in this context. The researcher will be trusted as; "the fellow passenger on a plane ride ... He or she is an outsider knowledgeable of the organization, yet at the same time probably marginal to its political processes" (Rosen, 1991b, p. 17). In contrast to this, the *participant* observer who may, covertly or overtly, be researching while playing an active role in the organisation is; "part of the first-order politics of the organization and therefore someone not to be fully trusted by others in the same political arena" (Rosen, 1991b, p. 17). I realised that without full immersion in to the organisations, I would not 'belong' in each organisation to the extent that I would become inconspicuous. However, I hoped to achieve some familiarity with the organisations so that I would achieve some 'participant' status and thus become less conspicuous.

I had experience of various points on the participant observation continuum. Within Governing Body C, I started my data collection as an observer, an outsider. By the end, I was a participant, also observing, as I carried out the tasks associated with a volunteer job as Event Manager for an Eight Nations Invitational Tournament run by the NGB. Trust, within this organisation, was not hard to gain. Most individuals appeared happy to talk to me and although some were not overtly interested in the research, they still asked me questions. A few joked with me, asking; "oh, is that equitable" whenever they made an overtly (and I think, jokingly!) sexist comment. Within Governing Body B, I had a mainly observational role, except when I was asked to help at a one day event, in which my participation enabled me to enter into conversations with other workers. Finally, within Governing Body A, my role was strictly observational and I was only officially allowed access to the reception of their headquarters. I was chaperoned elsewhere in the building and only introduced to those whom I was interviewing. I was, however, invited by NGB A to attend an 'Equity Planning Meeting' at which I was able to observe the proposed development of equity issues. In addition, I was able to access other areas of the organisation by interviewing development officers who encouraged me to speak to regional, volunteer representatives.

These 'roles' within each NGB were indicative of the power relationship that developed within each governing body. The degrees of formality with which I was received varied. The guarded formality with which I was treated in NGB A initially concerned me, as I felt that I would not be able to obtain detailed and in depth data from this organisation. However, I felt that this relationship gave me an interesting insight into the organisation and, as has been suggested; "the extent to which an ethnographer really becomes a member of that culture, has no direct bearing on the investigation. What is of significance is the competence of introspection and the ability to reflect on that experience"(Holy, 1984, p. 33). Reflecting on this experience, I realised that while there was some concern within NGB A I was still in a position to gather data

and that the institutional resistance to my research could be informative rather than obstructive. I then felt that I had to be more fully prepared for this organisation than for the others. I also continually reassured the individuals within NGB A of my intentions to keep the research anonymous to show that I was not some sort of 'spy' for Sport England.

During and after 'sessions' of observation, I recorded notes on my perceptions of what I had seen. Speech was the most difficult item to record, and I devised a simple method of putting single inverted commas (") around statements which were not verbatim and double inverted commas (") around those which were. As my involvement with the organisations progressed, so the importance of participant observation increased. That is, if I was not involved in the conversation or meeting as an active member, I recorded as much as possible through my field notes and recorded each meeting in a research diary.

Research diary and field notes

Consequently, the research diary and field notes grew in importance during the data gathering period. Initially, I had viewed this as an 'extra chore', which could be amply compensated for with accurate interview transcriptions. However, having written field notes after each interview, on the style of the interview (was it relaxed or tense, formal or informal), my perceptions of the interview, body language and interview setting, it became clear that field notes could provide a useful supplement to transcripts. Burgess (1982c) suggests that field notes can be kept in a variety of ways, including the traditional notebook but also using cameras or videotape. A notebook was used in this research to record field notes during meetings, rejecting cameras on the grounds of being impracticable and intrusive. Every detail that occurred could not be recorded (Burgess, 1982c) but I developed a shorthand that I typed in full after the meetings. This enabled a record to be kept of as much data as possible of items including what was said, tone, body language, lay out of the meeting room and hierarchy of seating. In order to simplify creating field notes after interviews, I recorded them vocally onto tape after meetings and included the field notes in the transcription. Alternatively, if I was waiting for a further interview, I wrote notes in the interim period between interviews. This data became invaluable in adding character and meaning from the audiotapes. The multiple data collection methods enabled an examination of the four organisational practices that have been identified as key to understanding gender power relations. Within all data collection methods, ethical considerations were paramount and it is to this that I now turn.

Ethical considerations

A number of ethical considerations emerged within the research. Although Sport England did not fund the research, many people assumed that I was 'spying' for that organisation. I was keen to counter this perception, as Sport England was often viewed warily by NGBs. Access was much easier once individuals knew that it was not involved, as they

realised that their future funding was not dependent on my research. Informed consent was also a foremost concern and, wherever possible, interviewees were asked to sign a consent form. This was not always possible, particularly in the case of informal conversations. In deciding not to ask all conversational participants for informed consent, I followed Hammersley and Atkinson's (1995) suggestion that it is impracticable to sign consent forms in every conversation and that their use should be governed by common sense. The ethical concerns of this practice were most apparent in participant observation and in casual conversations. It would have been distracting for individuals to be constantly told about my research. It would also be inappropriate to disrupt formal meetings with the administration of consent forms. In some meetings, I was invited to describe the reason for my presence in the meeting. This gave me the opportunity to explain the research and answer any concerns. While not as formal as an informed consent form, it ensured that those present knew my business.

Another ethical concern highlighted by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) is that of the importance of feedback from the research. This practice of giving feedback provided participants with an opportunity to give an informed reaction to the research. The opportunity was offered to each interviewee to check the transcripts for errors or misinterpretation. In addition to this, I was aware of the suggestion that it is necessary to reflect on the potential for harm in research (Akeroyd, 1984). While physical harm was and is highly unlikely as a result of this research, harm through publication could be perceived to be a potential problem. Consequently, in this and future publications, every effort will be made to ensure anonymity. Anonymity was considered to be appropriate for the organisations as well as individuals. The purpose of anonymity for organisations was to remove the emphasis from each organisation. It was intended that individuals in all NGBs, when reading this research in its disseminated form might see similarities with their own organisations rather than view the issues that arose in this research as irrelevant to them. Once the data were collected, they were analysed, as explained in the following section.

Data Analysis

In total there were over 400 pages of transcripts, numerous organisational publications, policy documents, statements, letters, field notes, and a research diary to be analysed. An initial concern in the data analysis was whether to use a computer programme such as NVivo. The benefits of using such programmes are plentiful. They can aid the researcher to develop multiple categories and pursue alternative analytic themes. However, access to and instruction in NVivo was problematic at the time of the research. Ultimately, I rejected the use of NVivo because there was insufficient time to develop the required skills to a useful level. Instead, I used the more traditional 'highlighter' pens to indicate themes in the data.

Consequently, data analysis was the result of a; “hard, sometimes tedious, slog” (Jones, 1985b, p. 56). It was necessary to make sense of, and organise, the data into a presentable form that would enable the expression the discourses of gender power relations in the research. The first level of analysis was to organise the data into the topic areas outlined by the four key organisational practices. These formed the subject areas for the four discussion chapters. The data were then identified as either formally or informally expressed. This distinction arose because some discourses were presented as sanctioned by the organisation such as policy documents, statements, memos or minutes. These were identified as formal expressions of discourses. Others were expressed informally, such as in conversation, in interviews, and in participant observation. Collinson (1990) highlighted the importance of comparing formal and informal expressions of discourses in organisational practices. For example, a formal expression of discourses in an organisation may suggest that an organisation is equitable because it has an equity policy. However, the informal view within the organisation may be that such a policy is worthless (Cockburn, 1990). The implementation of the policy therefore may have little in common with the sentiments that are expressed in the formal policy.

Detailed data analysis was necessary to examine the expressions of discourses that influenced the creation of gender power relations in sport organisations. This analysis was facilitated through the employment of coding techniques. Coding is the organisation of data into manageable categories (Jones, 1985b). The approach used in this research followed that suggested by Strauss (1987). This entailed a combination of open and axial coding. Open coding took place through the initial reading and re-reading of the data. A wide variety of categories were initially defined, ranging from ‘advertising’ to ‘relationships with funding bodies’. However, these initial categories were not stable, i.e. there were many categories with not enough data in each for substantial analysis (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). The categories were compared and reduced to a manageable number within each organisational practice. That is; “vaguely understood categories (were) differentiated into several more clearly defined ones” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 213). Through this method, categories were defined within the broader range of organisational practices. For example, Chapter 5 is concerned with the creation of organisational histories. Within that chapter, there are five categories. Two of the categories were defined from the formal expression of data and were identified as the historical development of gender roles and the historical protection of gendered traditions. Three categories were identified in the informal data, two of which were the same as those in the formal data thus reinforcing those data. One other category was identified in the informal data, that of the historical access to influential networks. Open coding was therefore utilised to establish the initial categories within the broader themes of the four key organisational practices. Axial coding then followed (Strauss, 1987). This involved the subsequent re-reading of the data in which information was identified that could substantiate the

established categories. The process was repeated for data in each of the three remaining organisational practices, comprising Chapters 6-8.

Methods of triangulation were employed within the analysis. These have been identified as central to qualitative research, as they clarify meaning within the data through the constant comparison of different perspectives (Stake, 2000). By using the same methods at various times in the research and also utilising multiple methods, it was possible to undertake such comparison and contrast to avoid misrepresentation. This was achieved, for example, by comparing documents with interview transcripts, or organisational documents with my research diary. This comparison enabled contrast and substantiation of data from various categories in order to address and challenge the research questions. At all times in this procedure the nature of qualitative research was acknowledged as; “subjective in the sense that the ethnographers report selectively on what they are predisposed to see, hear and record from the flood of words that wash over them each day in the field” (Goward, Ardener, & Sarsby, 1984, p. 100). By employing triangulation methods, it was possible to make sense of this ‘flood of words’. Additionally, the use of multiple methods and triangulation enabled the development of ‘layers’ of data (Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000). Each method provided data that confirmed or contradicted previous information. This layering of data has also been called ‘crystallisation’ (Richardson, 2000). Along with the comparison and contrasts that are offered in triangulation, crystallisation acknowledges the way in which data are viewed. Data, like crystals; “grow, change, alter, but are not amorphous ... what we see depends upon our angle of repose ... crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know. Ingeniously, we know there is always more to know” (Richardson, 2000, p. 935). It is acknowledged that the data in this research were viewed from a particular angle, that of a form of feminism. Crystallisation, in conjunction with triangulation, was therefore central to the data collection and analysis.

Once the data were coded into categories, it was then possible to analyse the discourses that were expressed in the data. The discourses that informed gender power relations took the form of written and spoken word, pictures and body language. By examining the discourses, it was possible to contribute to the understanding of how gender power relations were created in sport organisations. The analysis was therefore also used to substantiate and critique the Foucauldian analysis of power that formed the framework for the research. Before entering into the specifics of this in the discussion chapters, I now address issues of writing and structure.

Writing issues

The nature of ethnographic studies is that they may become story-like and thus not lend themselves easily to critical analysis (Van Maanen, 1988). This was not the intention within this research, as it was a critical “quasi-ethnographic” (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 8) study which did not

just tell the tale of gender relations in sport organisations but critically analysed their strengths and weaknesses and compared policy and practice. I selected organisations that would most clearly suit my purpose of understanding gender relations. Writing about this in the following chapters entailed a great deal of description and analysis of that description. The analysis is based largely on my interpretation of the relevant literature, conversations that were held, and my perspective on organisational documents. Selection was always a key in this process and the data that were chosen to illustrate my arguments are my responsibility. I have therefore written myself 'in' to the analysis through that perspective. While I believe that this was useful in contextualising my perspectives in the research, it is not my intention that this should 'take over' the analysis. It has been suggested that a balance between the author's autobiography and the focus of the research must be struck (Clarke, 2000). In a further discussion about this topic, it was suggested that; "one person's 'baggage' is another person's autobiography" (Conference discussion, 29 May 2000). It was a balance between these two that I wished to strike in the analysis.

In terms of structuring, the intended plan of the thesis has changed considerably since its first drafts. Initially, I had intended to focus on the development of power through formal and informal means, and the analysis of language. The key organisational themes would have been sub-themes. It became clear from the literature and the data that language is everywhere and thus could not be a separate entity of analysis. The analysis of formal and informal practices in separate chapters would have entailed a great deal of repetition and referencing back and forward in the thesis, thus confusing the reader and the writer. Consequently, the discussion has been organised by each organisational practice. The overall structure of the thesis is as follows. The following chapter outlines the characteristics of each of the organisations, giving contextual detail on each one. The four discussion chapters focus on the organisational practices that have been established as key to expressing gender power relations. Within each of these practices discourses were expressed that influenced the construction of gender power relations and which reflected the social and historical construction of power and resistance. These discourses will be discussed within the framework of the organisational practices and the sub categories in which they were identified. First, however, I provide case studies of each of the organisations in order to contextualise the data.

Chapter Four: Research Sites

As explained in Chapter 3, this research was based on an examination of three National Governing Bodies (NGBs). In this chapter, I present an overview of these research sites. This will serve as a reference point for the discussion section of the thesis. As already mentioned, each NGB was dependent on Sport England for funding. In order to fully appreciate the relationship between Sport England and the NGBs, I outline the history and current structure of Sport England. I then complete the same exercise for each of the NGBs, describing their funding and management structures, linking this to their relationship with Sport England

Sport England

Sport England is a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation (QUANGO) that receives funding from the UK government. Sport England was founded in 1974, when, known as the Sports Council, it distributed money, provided development plans, and generally encouraged a policy of 'Sport for All'. The Sports Council was disbanded in 1995, to be replaced by the English Sports Council. With the change in name came a different ethos, as expressed in the policy paper *England, the Sporting Nation: a strategy* (English Sports Council, 1997a). This paper was produced as a result of the politically perceived failure of the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games, in which the Great Britain team obtained only one gold medal. The new policy encouraged a 'focused' prioritisation of funding for selected sports. It was hoped that this would facilitate more international success for English sport. In order to clarify the position of 'priority sports', the system of funding was changed to encourage NGBs to bid for funds. This funding was divided into two main areas; 'Exchequer' and 'National Lottery'⁷. Exchequer funding was targeted at the 'infrastructure' of sport in England and the National Lottery money was targeted towards players and teams (English Sports Council, 1998). Targets and criteria for this strategy were proposed in *England, the Sporting Nation: a Strategy* (English Sports Council, 1997a). One such criterion is a commitment to equity that must be addressed by the NGBs in the form of an Equity Statement (English Sports Council, 1997a). Sport England monitors the equity statement during the funding period of approximately four years. The equity statement forms part of a development plan that is produced by each NGB and includes other areas such grassroots development and participation; elite areas; work programmes for individuals within the organisation; and a commitment to an annual review by Sport England (English Sports Council, 1997a).

Given the political importance of international success in sport (Gilroy & Clarke, 1997) and pressures over funding, the relationship with Sport England was an important one for the NGBs in this research. In the following sections, I describe each of the NGBs in turn. I provide

⁷ 'Lottery' funding is based on revenue from the UK National Lottery

a description of the physical location of each organisation, which gives some insight into the initial image that is presented by the organisations. I also describe a brief history of each organisation and the current organisational structure. Finally I discuss each NGB's relationship with Sport England.

Background to National Governing Body A

National Governing Body A's offices were based on three floors, the downstairs comprised a waiting hallway, reception, and the Chief Executive's suite. The second floor housed the offices of the various directors of the association and their secretaries. The third floor was home to the administrative staff of the organisation. In the entrance hall, there were a number of glass cases, in which there were various memorabilia from the organisation's one hundred and forty year history. A picture of H.M. Queen Elizabeth II overlooked the hallway. On the walls, there were two wooden boards. One was filled with the names of Past Presidents, inscribed in gold leaf, and the other bore the name of the current (and to date only) professional Chief Executive.

History of the organisation

In order to contextualise the current position of the organisation, a brief history is required. National Governing Body A was founded over the period 1868-1869 in order to encourage some control over the growing number of private sports clubs and to regulate the emergence of competition. Initial reactions to the organisation were sceptical, with only "a small number" (NGB A, 1996, p. 9) of clubs joining in 1870. The management of the early organisation was in keeping with the social climate of the time as it was organised by men. Some women's clubs emerged but were treated with a large degree of scepticism (NGB A, 1996). The association grew and by 1901 had developed a 'district' presence, dividing England into Northern, Southern, Western, Midland, and North Eastern Districts. Individuals who volunteered for NGB A were active in the organisation of the sport in the districts. It was around this time that there was a consideration of women's involvement in the national organisation, when the Honorary Secretary sent a memo to the President. Two of the twenty issues he addressed referred to a desire to promote; "the application of the laws to both sexes and the inauguration of ladies' championships" (NGB A, 1996, p. 19). There was some bitter opposition to this, centring on the debates over women's involvement that were beginning to emerge in sport organisations (Hall, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994). It was considered to be dangerous for some women to participate in sport, given their status as the 'fairer' or 'weaker' sex, and there was also a degree of misogyny within the individuals and associations that ran British and Olympic sport (NGB A, 1996). In addition to this were concerns over 'decency' and whether women and men could compete at the same events. Despite these concerns and troubles, women

were allowed to participate in national events from 1901, provided that both women and men followed strict 'decency guidelines' that were established in 1909 (NGB A, 1996).

It was not until the 1930s, and the governing body's desire to increase the number of teachers, that women were recognised within the administration of NGB A. Of the £2 million that were set aside in 1937 to fund all English sports, NGB A received an annual fund of £2,000 to spend on teaching (NGB A, 1996). It was at this point in the organisation's history that women began to be linked with teaching, a trend that still has influence today in terms of women's roles within the organisation. Two women were employed to encourage teaching and to promote the sport to local councils.

According to the historical review of the sport, women were not at the forefront of the organisation until the immediate aftermath of the Second World War (NGB A, 1996). In 1952, the first of only two women Presidents in the organisation's history was appointed. Another forty years passed before women were once again involved in the upper levels of the organisation's hierarchy. In 1993 five female 'development officers' were appointed to the organisation. A National Development Manager (now Director) oversaw their roles and they were to promote the sport in the regions and to liaise with county and local councils for the promotion of the sport.

The organisation therefore has a rich and diverse history. Having established a network of administration within England, the sport has grown to become one of the most popular, in terms of participation, in the country. Women have not historically had a large part to play in decision making at the upper end of the organisation, but, as will be shown below, do play a significant part in the lower levels of the current organisation.

Current structure of the organisation and funding

The current structure and personnel within the organisation reflected the patterns that emerged throughout the history of the organisation. There was a large, vocal, and powerful voluntary sector, comprising committees at club, county, district, regional⁸ and national levels. These committees had veto power over any policy decision that was taken by the paid members of staff. The total number of volunteers was impossible to estimate, but there are over 120 volunteers involved at national and district level, with many more involved at county and club level. Since the 1937 appointment of two women in paid positions, the number of professional, i.e paid employees has grown to comprise sixty full time staff, ranging from the Chief Executive to support staff.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the complexity of the organisation there was no definitive management diagram that could illustrate all of the positions. Figure 1 (p. 45) is therefore only a representation of the organisation's structure. The voluntary and professional

⁸ The regions are the ten areas into which England is divided by Sport England.

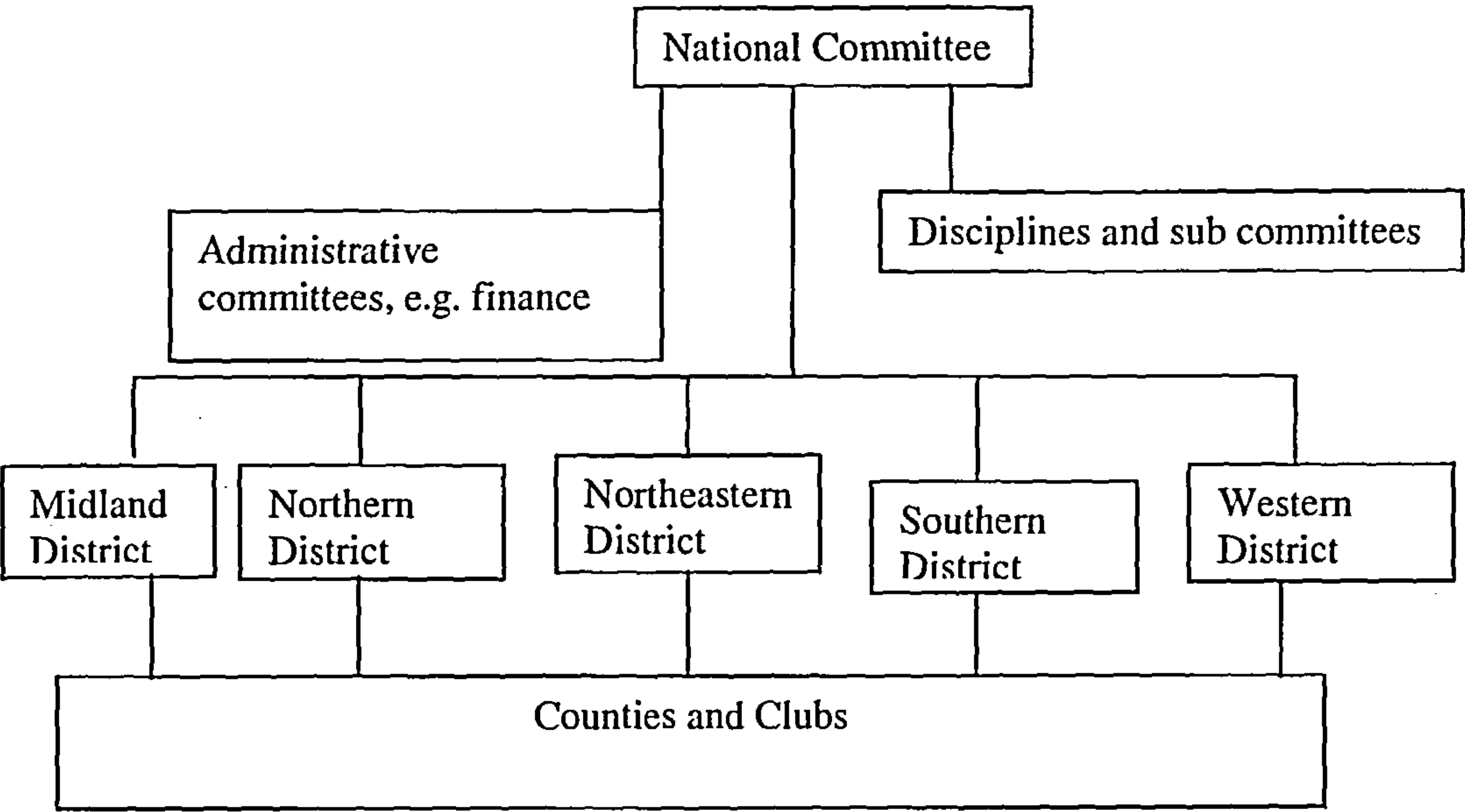
structures were interdependent. That is, individuals within the hierarchy of the professional structure developed policies that affected the voluntary sector. These were given to the National Committee to put to a vote which, if passed, would return the policy to the Regional Development Officers (RDOs) to put into practice. The RDOs then disseminated policies within the voluntary county and club structures. National Governing Body A's structure was therefore quite fragile, with a great deal depending on good communication. There were many women in the club and county structure, fewer at district level and none at the national level. In the professional structure, eleven of the thirteen development officers and two of the five senior executives are women. The overall structure is summarised in figure 2 (p. 45).

The association qualified for funding from Sport England (NGB A, 1997). Although I was unable to secure a copy of accounts of the organisation, the sport's budget was estimated by an interviewee to be £2 million (interview, 7 July, 1999). A number of criteria were required to be fulfilled before during the funding period to ensure and secure further funding. Equity issues were identified by NGB A as a 'key issue' within the Business Plan for 1998-2002. Under the column "objectives" is the comment "Establish an equity policy". Targets for 1998/99 repeat this statement and the comment "review" is the "target" for the years 1999-2002.

In summary, NGB A was an organisation with a relatively long history. It was based largely on a male voluntary network, with women only being included within the organisation at a later date. At the time of the research, it continued to function with a strong voluntary sector, despite the recent trend, advocated by Sport England, towards professionalisation. It could be suggested that the organisational traditions were of great importance, as indicated by the pride in its patronage by the Queen, and a reliance on a powerful voluntary sector, which has the power to veto decisions taken by professional staff (figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1: Structure of NGB A

Voluntary structure



Professional Structure

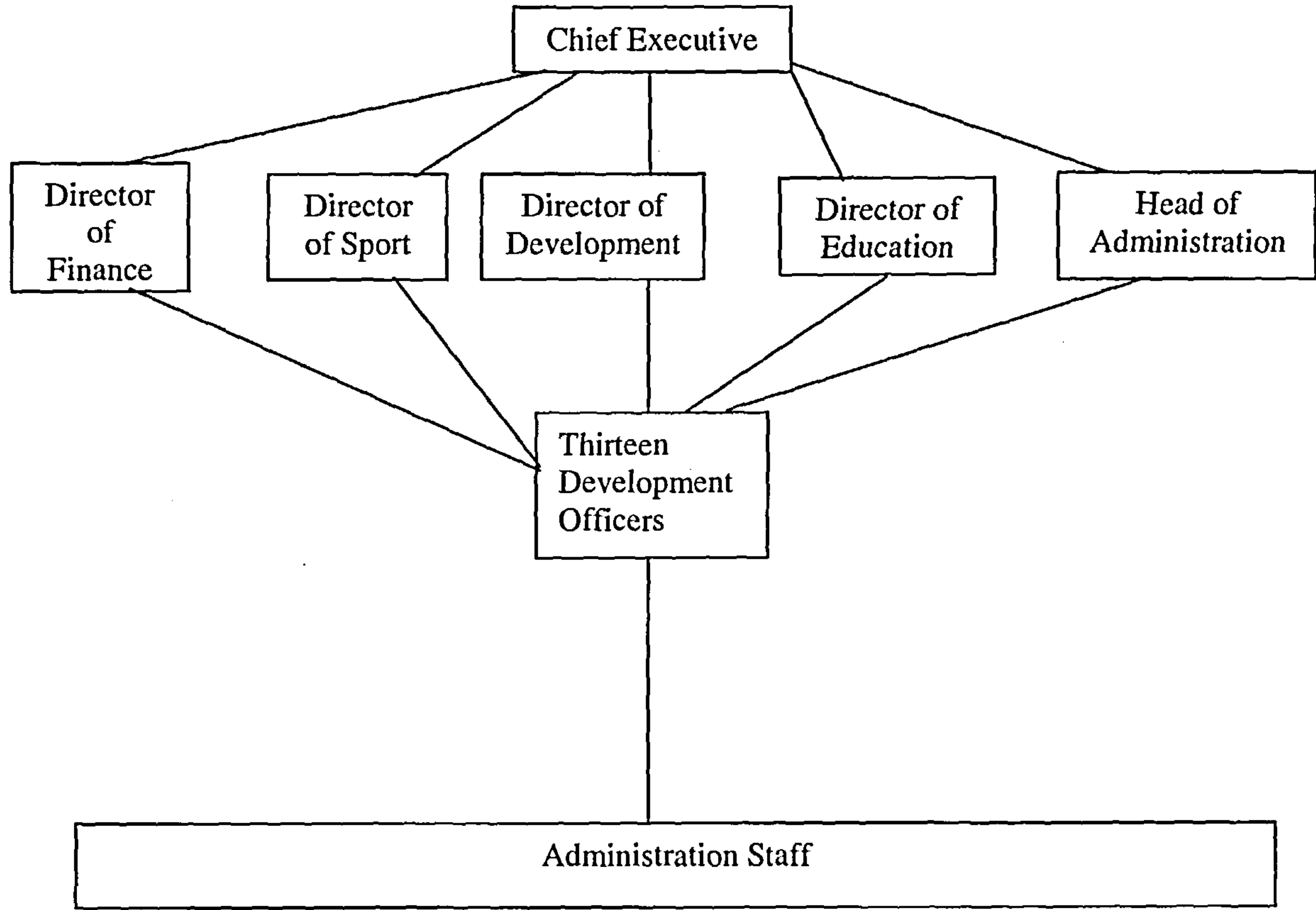
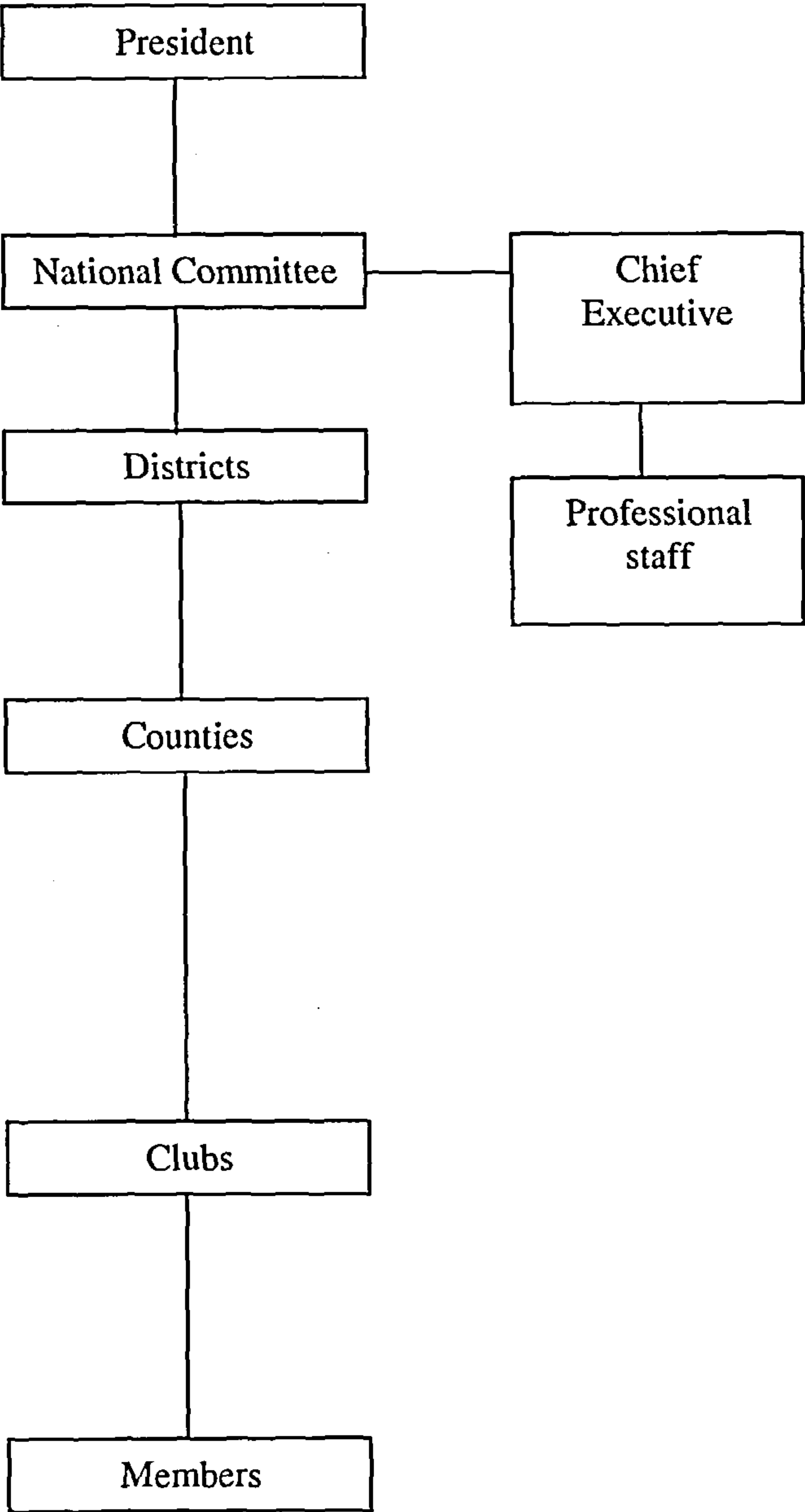


Figure 2: Overall structure of NGB A



National Governing Body B

At the time of the research, the building in which NGB B was situated occupied two floors, with the administrative staff and the Chief Executive situated on the ground floor. The administrative staff occupied a room that was also used as a reception area. Upstairs, there were three rooms, one of which housed the two full time development officers, one was a store cupboard and the third was a meeting room. Posters adorned the walls to promote the sport and its sponsors. The rest of the offices were shabbily decorated, prompting the staff to make frequent apologies for “the state of the place”. There were a number of paid administrative members of staff and two development officers. At the time of the research, the paid Chief Executive resigned, to be temporarily replaced by an Acting Chief Executive.

History of the organisation

There was some debate over the founding date of NGB B, but the consensus of opinion rested on 1981. At first, the purpose of the organisation was to run events, to legislate for competition, and to provide some structure for emerging clubs. Flexibility and innovation were the key to the establishment of the sport in England. The rules of the sport were changed as necessary, in an attempt to ensure fair and safe competition. The speed of change in the sport appeared to have left little time for reflection on the part of the organisers in the 1980s and early 1990s. This was expressed through the lack of policy development until the 1990s (Leisure Futures Limited, 1998). During the 1990s, the realisation grew that future funding would rely on the employment of at least one full time professional officer. NGB B duly complied and employed their first paid Development Officer. The organisation has since secured funding for a second Young Person’s Development Officer. After the research period, an Events Co-ordinator was also employed. Until 1998, NGB B was in a unique position compared to other NGBs as it had a Women’s Commission that was dedicated to the promotion of women within the sport.

In 1998, an external report was commissioned to report on the Governing Body’s attempt to modernise (Leisure Futures Limited, 1998). The tone of the *Leisure Futures Management and Structure Review* was one which indicated that, while rationalisation had been attempted, a number of processes needed to be put in place, such as job descriptions for volunteers and ‘grooming’ for new post holders. Communication within the management was criticised, as was communication with members. Many of the membership who were an integral part of the early association were felt to be marginalised by the new professional staff (Leisure Futures Limited, 1998).

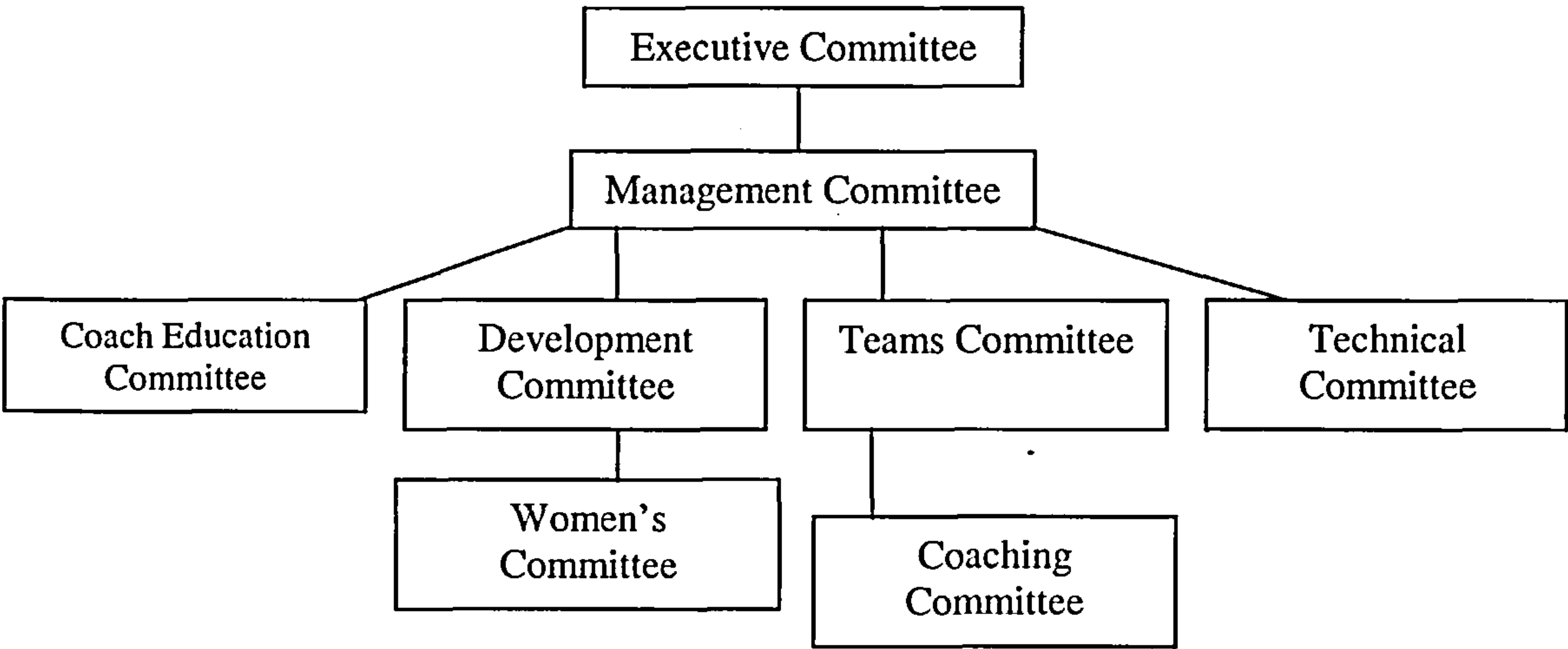
Current structure of the organisation and funding partners

The structure of NGB B comprised a simple committee structure, as illustrated in Figure 3. All of the Committee Chairs were volunteers. The Chief Executive had a seat on the Executive Committee but was unable to vote. The Development Officers represented

themselves on the Development Committee and were entitled to vote. As with NGB A, the vote of the voluntary management committee was able to veto any of the suggestions of the Development Officers, or to alter their planned recommendations. As indicated above, NGB B relied on funding from the Exchequer, the Lottery, membership, and sponsorship. In 1998, one quarter of grants came from Sport England. The Lottery provided a further £175,000, doubling the total in grants from Sport England. This funding was dependent on a Business Plan, which included a commitment to equity and gender equity. National Governing Body B also received a significant amount of money from their sponsors, which approximately equalled the grant from Sport England. I was informed that this money had to be spent on youth development, as it had been identified by the sponsors as a key area. The development team was unable to re-allocate any of this money to other areas.

National Governing Body B was therefore a relatively recent creation. The Women’s commission, although disbanded by the end of the research period was identified as a commitment to equity. The organisation has undergone significant structural changes in its short history. The implications of this are discussed further in the discussion chapters.

Figure 3: Structure of NGB B
(NGB B, 1998b, p. 32)



National Governing Body C

National Governing Body C was housed in the sport’s National Stadium and shared the building with a number of other firms. The offices were completed in the early 1990s. The offices and the adjacent sport facility were used as a centre for national and international tournaments, as well as a number of regional events. The entrance hall to the building was the ‘show case’ for the sport, with posters of the England squad, advertisements for the sport and

photographs of young players. National Governing Body C occupied the second floor of the office building, in three open plan offices. These offices housed three to ten employees and the Chief Executive had a large separate office. In addition to this a large meeting room was situated towards the rear of the offices. During 1998-99, Regional Development Officers were established and by the end of the research period, there were ten such employees in the regions. There were approximately fifty employees, including administration, development, regional development and senior management staff in NGB C. In addition to this, there were a large number of volunteers who were involved in the sport at a national, district, county, and club level.

History of the organisation

The modern NGB C was formed in June 1997. Before that, there were two independent organisations, one representing the interests of each sex. The women's Association had been in existence since 1895 and the men's Association since 1886. The current organisation, while presented by employees as a 'new' organisation, was the result of a merger between the two original organisations. This combination of over one hundred years of different histories and traditions made NGB C quite unique in English sport and presented a number of complex issues. In order to clarify and illustrate these, I describe the history of the two organisations separately and then discuss the merger.

The Women's Association

The women's association was founded in 1895. The following extract from the history of the organisation indicated its groundbreaking nature;

Women of spirit, in the 1880s, dissatisfied with standing on the touchline watching men play [the sport], formed their own teams and arranged their own games ... After the match [the first international, England vs Ireland in 1895] ... the idea of a Ladies' ... Association was born (Women's NGB C, 1986, p. 1).

The development of the sport was rapid, with fifty-two clubs being formed by 1898 and the construction of two territorial areas, the North and the South. In 1919, the sport's calendar was formalised, establishing dates for various tournaments. This was to remain in place until 1985. By the 1950s, spectators at the sport's international matches were exceeding 45,000 people, forcing the organisers to shift the venue from Kennington Oval in London to Wembley stadium. By the Diamond Jubilee of the sport in 1955, there were over 2,000 clubs and schools affiliated to the organisation. Much of the infrastructure of the organisation at this time was similar to that established by its Victorian predecessors. The only paid employee was the secretary who was first employed in 1951. It was not until England started to regularly lose international matches in 1963 that the sport's organisers were challenged to 'professionalise' the outlook of the association and the players. As a result, in 1973, a squad system was introduced

and a coach and manager were appointed. On the international scene, the women's game was not included in the Olympics until Moscow in 1980.

Unusually for a sport organisation in the latter part of the 19th Century and the 20th Century, the organisation did not rely on support from men. The organisation did not have a great deal of money, yet it comprised a small, efficient unit. By 1996, the last year of the women's Association, the structure comprised a National Council of a President, Honorary Treasurer, four elected members, representatives from the territories and Coaching, Competitions, Regulations, and Umpiring Committees. The President and three elected members undertook the management of the organisation. In addition to this, there was a Coaching Panel of a Chairman and three elected members and representatives from the territories (Women's NGB C, 1986). The merger was met by some with great trepidation but by others as an opportunity to use some of the men's expertise and become financially more stable.

The Men's Association

The men's Association was founded in 1886 and was the first governing body of any sport in the world. The organisation was granted Royal patronage and grew to 127 clubs by the end of the 19th Century. A County Championship was introduced in 1957 and the first paid Secretary of the Association was employed in 1964. As with the women, the domestic calendar was over-crowded, so the season was re-organised in 1985. The men's association comprised a voluntary National Assembly of 150 people and a number of professional staff, that could only be quantified by one interviewee as "lots". The men moved from their offices in London to their current offices in the early 1990s and were shortly followed by the women. It was at this point that talks of a merger began in earnest.

The merger

The merger was a direct result of advice from the English Sports Council who recommended that the two associations would benefit from applying for funding in tandem. Despite the common histories of the game, there were significant differences that had to be overcome, such as the differentials in the numbers of people employed at each organisation. Talks, however, started in 1994 to encourage the merger of the two organisations. From the start, the women insisted that, on every voluntary committee, there would be a 50% representation of men and women at least until the season 2002/2003 (NGB C, 1998a). While this pursuit of equal representation was central within the new organisation, it resulted in committees that were twice as large as required. Women have not been able to access senior professional management roles and were found in support roles with little direct input into the management of the organisation.

Current structure of the organisation and funding

The National Council comprised twenty-four people at the time of the research. Ten of these were Regional Representatives. Beneath the National Council are the Management

Committee, the Finance Sub-Committee, the Regions and other sub-committees. This is illustrated in figure 4 (p. 52). Although there appears to be no record of a diagram of the paid staff structure, figure 5 (p. 52) provides a representation of the structure. As with National Governing Bodies A and B, NGB C was dependent on funding from three main sources; the Lottery, Exchequer Funding, and membership affiliation fees. In 1997, the first year in which NGB C applied for Lottery funding, the association received £1.5million (Ritchie, 1997). In 1998, over £2 million was granted by the Lottery Fund and £94,000 by Exchequer funding (NGB C, 1998b). In order to demonstrate the strength of the relationship between the association and the then English Sports Council, *Tackling the Future* was published in 1996, outlining the plans for the sport until 2006. Within this document, the organisation's views on the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for the sport, youth development, international and national development were expressed. This has formed the basis of the initial and subsequent bids for Lottery and Exchequer funding. An interviewee suggested that gender issues were not considered an important issue within *Tackling the Future*. This would appear to be at odds with the organisation's well versed commitment to 'equal opportunities' in terms of gender representation on the voluntary committees. National Governing Body C therefore had a complex and diverse history.

The above descriptions gave some indication of the diversity and similarities that were expressed within the organisations in this research. This provides an initial opportunity to compare and contrast the histories and current management issues within each organisation. These are developed in the discussion chapters to which I now turn.

Figure 4: Overall structure of NGB C
(NGB C, 1998a p12)

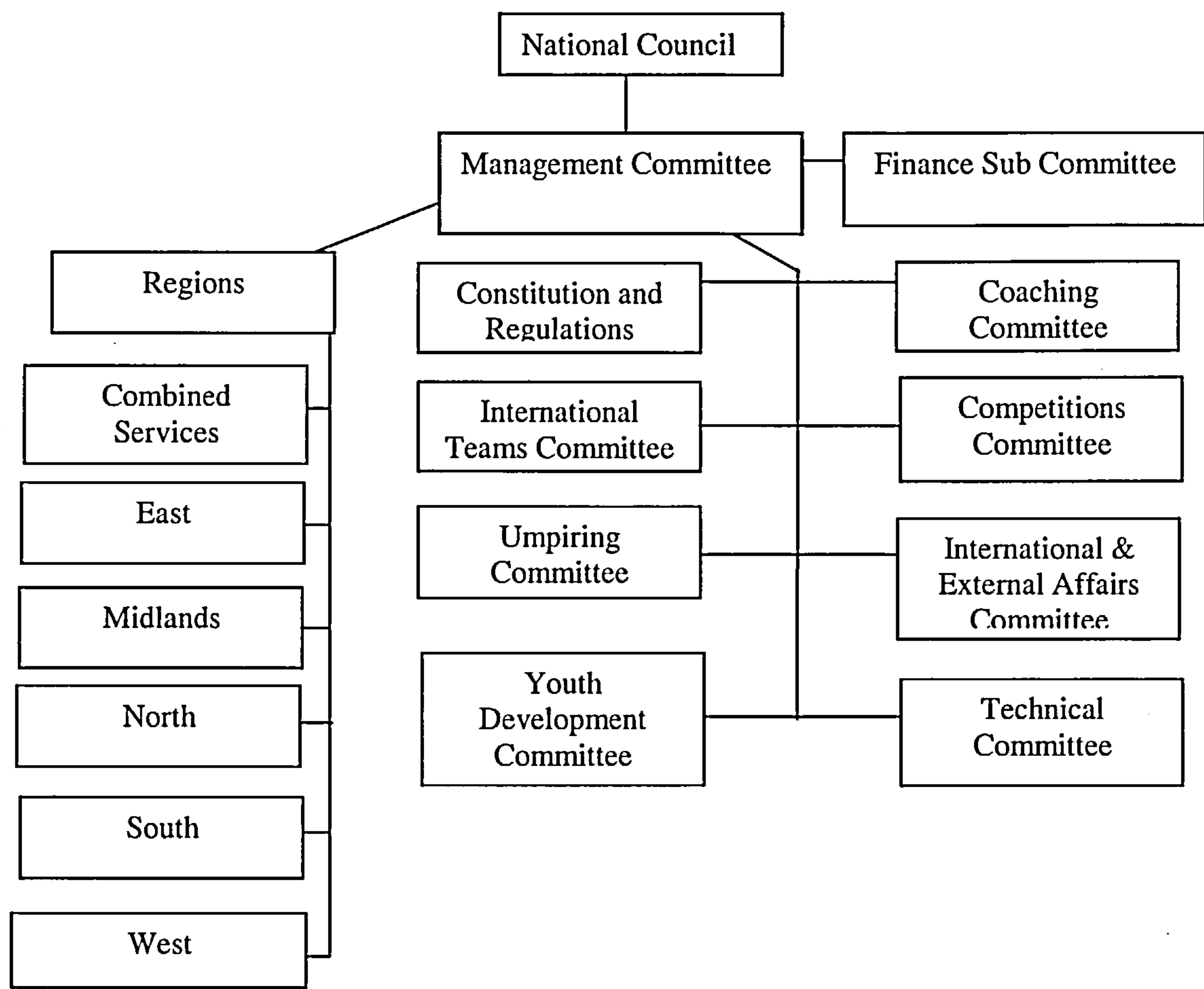
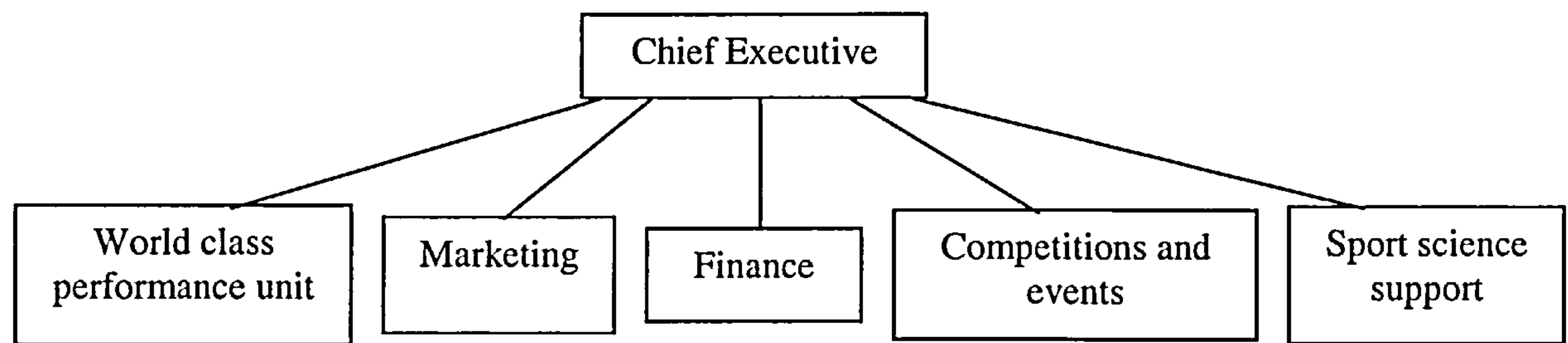


Figure 5: Paid structure of NGB C



Chapter five: The creation of organisational histories

In Chapter 2, the analysis of histories was identified as key to understanding gender power relations. This was because individuals tend to privilege certain historical events and traditions (Whitson, 1990). Within this practice, discourses expressed by most men are often favoured over those expressed by most women. These discourses become powerful and may influence the creation of gender relations. It was also argued that the analysis of multiple organisational histories, or multiple versions of historical events, may identify previously marginalised histories, such as those expressed by some women (Calás & Smircich, 1992a). In this chapter, I examine multiple histories and their influence on the creation of gender power relations in sport organisations (Cockburn, 1981; Foucault, 1972). The formal and informal creation of organisational histories within NGBs A, B, and C is specifically addressed.

Formal creation of organisational histories

I suggested in Chapter 3 that the categorisation of data into formal and informal categories provides the opportunity to contrast and compare them. The data that are analysed in this chapter as 'formal' were those sanctioned by the organisations studied and those that were unsanctioned are analysed as 'informal' (Collinson et al., 1990; Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998). In this section I examine formally expressed discourses. Within this, two categories of analysis emerged, the historical creation of gender relations, and the protection of traditions and institutionalised practices. Each category is analysed by organisation enabling the comparison of various discourses across the organisations. The data are presented 'as a whole' within each category and then analysed. In NGBs A and C, formally expressed histories were identified through a number of organisational documents. While the relatively brief history of NGB B was no less important, fewer such documents were produced, thus it features less prominently in this section.

The historical creation of gender relations

In a recently published book, detailing the history of NGB A, it was stated that; "girls and women were perceived by many late Victorian and early twentieth century medical experts '*as weaker than men*'. These perspectives remained well into the twentieth century" (NGB A, 1996, p. 21-22). Such assumptions about women led to; "the view in some quarters that ... muscular exercise could distort and damage the delicate anatomy of women" (NGB A, 1996, p. 22). Although some women resisted these views and participated in the formation of their own clubs in order to play this sport, women's contribution to the national organisation was not recognised until they were first employed in 1938 to liaise with Local Authorities as "organisers" (NGB A, 1996, p. 57). Their roles were, amongst other duties, to; "assist and advise in the formation of classes of the NGB A teaching certificate" (NGB A, 1996, p. 57).

Within the formal history of NGB A, women's achievements received a mere two pages within a book that comprised over two hundred pages. Where women were mentioned in the organisational history, their actions were expressed through men's perceptions. For example, it was stated in the organisation's history that; "apprehension about women took various forms. [NGB A's] Notes recorded the fears of one male [athlete] of using [the same equipment] as women as a reason for excluding them from [participation]" (NGB A, 1996, p. 22). The pioneering spirit that some women showed in resisting the traditional male dominance of NGB A was also explained through men's reactions to them (NGB A, 1996). For example, it was stated in the formal history of NGB A that women's only clubs were; "accepted, somewhat anxiously" (NGB A, 1996, p. 22) by the Victorian establishment in NGB A. Reviews of women's clubs were; "written by men who did not take them seriously. Their tone was jokey and patronising" (NGB A, 1996, p. 22).

Further evidence of the creation and reporting of history through from a male perspective was articulated in the formal discussion of the first woman President. Her contribution to the role of President was limited to praising; "her elegance, calm, and dignity" (NGB A, 1996, p. 77). No mention was made of her leadership abilities. This contrasted to male Presidents whose biographies included reference to their achievements such as; "organiser of the ... *revolutionary* Coca-Cola Award Scheme" (NGB A, 1996, p. 81, italics added). Another male President was attributed with; "*vision ... and vigour*" (NGB A, 1996, p. 113, italics added).

The formal history of NGB A served to reinforce gender power relations in which men were dominant. It was men's achievements that were highlighted, rather than women's actions or a celebration of women's pioneering efforts to infiltrate a male dominated organisation (Vertinsky, 1994). Foucault (1972) argued that, although there may be many different views of historical events, one particular version of history may become influential and may thus be understood to be 'the truth'. This 'truth' may become the; "unquestioned continuit[y] by which we organize the discourses that we are to analyse" (Foucault, 1972, p. 25). Amongst others, Martin (2000) has developed Foucault's (1972) view to suggest that 'the truth' may be created from men's perspectives, favouring their actions and marginalising women's. In NGB A's history, the male centred perspective was the 'truth' by which history was 'organized' or expressed. The formalisation of such 'truths', as in NGB A's document, reinforced the dominance of those discourses. A powerful version of organisational knowledge was created and other views of history were thus marginalised. It has been further suggested that; "implicitly, male gendered organizational theorizing has kept women's voices silent" (Calás & Smircich, 1992a, p. 235). Although the history of NGB A was not a theoretical document, it certainly silenced women's histories, and those of men who were not associated with dominant views of leadership, within the organisation. For, although women have been involved since

NGB A's inception, women's leadership roles, achievements, organisational activities, and general contribution to the organisation were neglected in the organisation's formal account of history. In addition, men who were not leaders were also marginalised. This was because only the achievements of specific men were considered to be central to the organisation. It is also possible that such perspectives were dominant because the authors of the history were men for whom such discourses were important, rather than individuals with a broader view of the organisation (Calás & Smircich, 1992a; Martin, 2000). This served to highlight particular men's achievements at the expense of women, and men for whom those achievements were not important, therefore reducing the influence of those individuals within the creation of gender relations in the organisation's history.

The historical description of women's sport participation in NGB A further reinforced the dominant organisational view that women were weak. In so doing, this marginalised the efforts of women to develop their own abilities and challenge men's historical dominance of sport. In addition, assumptions were also made about women's roles as organisers and teachers, thus creating the view that women 'served' the organisation, rather than engaging in leadership roles. Those who create knowledge also have access to power (Foucault, 1979). As influential men created such demeaning knowledge about women in NGB A and men who were not leaders, so men who embodied leadership and success were able to develop their own power. Kerfoot and Knights (1998) have suggested that stereotyping women as 'servile educators' compares unfavourably to characteristics of leadership, which are often associated with men. It may seem odd that women did not challenge such labels to ensure a full acknowledgement of their contribution. Some may have done so but, in keeping with Martin's (2000) analysis, the dominance of discourses within the organisation may have marginalised their views. Others, given the traditional nature of their roles as 'supporters' may have felt that it was improper for them to challenge the creation of the organisational history. There may, therefore, have been a dominant view that the organisation was 'just the way it is' and that it should not be challenged. This would be in keeping with Foucault's (1972) views on the creation of one version of history through the dominance of particular individuals, in this case the influential male leaders of NGB A. The construction of the organisational 'truth' in the history of NGB A therefore served to undermine women's and some men's experiences and thus limit their influences within the creation of gender relations.

The construction of knowledge was further reinforced by the description of the woman President in the organisation's history. Although she was one of the few Presidents to receive a mention, her achievements were linked with an emphasis as a 'woman' rather than a 'leader'. It was clear that the expression of leadership in NGB A, which included words such as 'vision', 'vigour', and 'revolutionary' was attributed to male rather than female Presidents. It is not clear exactly why this was, other than, as Martin (1996) and Kerfoot and Knights (1998) have

suggested, women who are in management positions are more 'acceptable' if they express 'feminine' characteristics, rather than the 'vigour' associated with men. It may have been, therefore, that the authors were concerned to create a 'ladylike' image of the female President. This ensured the description of her achievements in a manner that was 'acceptable' within the organisation, however, the choice of focus and language employed by the organisation's historians demeaned her achievements in comparison to her male peers. As such, the history of the organisation served to reinforce the 'necessity' of 'feminine' characteristics in a female leader, rather than acknowledging her contribution to the organisation. Following Foucault's (1972) arguments, organisational 'truth' was therefore created which focused on the 'acceptable' face of women leaders.

The historical construction of gender relations was also expressed in NGB C. Despite a low level of interaction before the merger, both Associations historically expressed clear views about the other. Women faced many of the Victorian prejudices that were identified in NGB A. One Victorian writer was reported as stating that; "the strenuous nature of the game was likely to ... harden sinews, abnormally develop certain parts of the body. [In addition] fierce excitement would destroy the serene tranquil beauty of [women's] form, [and] produce large feet and coarse hands" (Howells, 1997, p. 41). Other similar views were expressed within the media of the time, in which it was noted that; "a club has been formed amongst the ladies of Upper Wimbledon ... members can be seen indulging in this manly sport on Wednesdays and Saturdays" (*Surrey Independent*, November 6, 1889, cited in NGB C Digest, March, 1996).

Despite these views, and showing similar resistance to the dominant views of the time as their sisters in NGB A, the members of the women's Association created their own clubs and continued to participate in, and organise, the sport. With perhaps accidental foresight of the future of the organisations, the women's Association asked for affiliation with the men's Association in 1895. This was; "politely declined [by the men] on the grounds that their's was a body solely for men" (Howells, 1997, p. 41). It has been suggested that; "the original rebuff has influenced policy in the ... game ever since" (Douglas, 1993, p. 4), hinting at the origins of the animosity between the two organisations. This contentious view was reinforced one hundred years later by the attitude of some men when women were asked to apply for jobs in the merged organisation. A representative of the professional men's Association indicated that this move to allow women, whose organisation had been voluntary, to access these employment roles was unfair. He said; "there are those who feel we should put our jobs on the line by having to re-apply. It's just not on" (Moore, 1994, p. 6). There was, therefore, some concern that men might lose their old jobs in the new organisation. Such fears on the part of the men's organisation appear, however, to have been groundless. As Moore (1994) suggested; "there has to be a strong suspicion that few [men], if any, would suffer if the positions were openly advertised" (p. 6). The Financial Director reiterated the view that men's jobs in the organisation, despite the initial

concern, were safe. He said that; “magically, one day [the jobs] weren’t going to be advertised.” The men who had previously been in paid employment, unlike their volunteer colleagues in the women’s Association, were therefore virtually guaranteed a job in the new organisation (Moore, 1994).

The historical comments made about women’s participation in the game could be dismissed as Victorian prejudice. Yet, as noted above, some of the Victorian views of 1895 still appeared to be prevalent in the late 20th century. The persistence of such views may be understood through Jermier’s (1991) analysis, in which he suggested that they become reified, and thus continue to have influence within organisations. He stated that; “[reification is] the profound forgetting of the fact that the world is socially constructed ... Exploitative practices are mystified and concealed” (Jermier, 1991, p. 231). The initial rejection of the merger offer by the women’s Association may be understood to be reified, thus setting the tone for gender relations over the following 100 years. It may seem strange that such strained gender relations were not challenged by the Associations, given the developments in gender relations in many areas of society and that both organisations were, after all, administering the same sport. It may have been that the reification of suspicion and a reluctance to integrate the two organisations (Jermier, 1991) ensured that individuals from each Association were unable to infiltrate the other, and thus challenge the historically constructed assumptions about each organisation. Each Association, therefore, had no ‘proof’ that the other could manage efficiently. Consequently, there was no apparent reason to trust members of the opposite Association and thus, amongst other things, develop positive gender relations. Following Foucault’s arguments in the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), it is possible that beliefs concerning each organisation had become too entrenched for the organisations’ members to challenge. This unwillingness to challenge myths and stereotypes about the opposite sex, which had developed over 100 years, ensured that alternative views about the organisations were marginalised. Consequently gender relations within the new NGB C were highly sensitive.

It was not just the reification of knowledge that created tensions between the organisation, but the protection of knowledge about professionalisation. The men’s Association was professional and the women’s Association was voluntary. Reed (1996) has suggested that voluntary work is valued less than professional, paid employment. Indeed, in NGB C, it was men’s professional discourses that had become influential in the new organisation, as they were associated with the requirements of Sport England. In contrast, despite women’s involvement at a managerial level, the women’s Association, was linked to knowledge about volunteerism, which in light of Sport England’s ethos, became less influential. Using Foucault’s (1979) analysis of power, it is possible to understand how links to a specific form of professionalism (i.e. that espoused by Sport England) were developed by the men’s Association, thus ensuring their influence in the new organisation. In contrast, the women’s Association was associated

with less influential knowledge and was therefore not as powerful (Reed, 1996). In NGB C, therefore, the influence of the men's Association was prevalent because of the historical domination of paid employment within the sport, women's lack of negotiation power from their volunteer standpoint, and an organisational, societal, and historical perception that the men 'belonged' within the professional, public roles (Reed, 1996).

The analysis of NGBs A and C have given some insight into the historical creation of gender relations in 'older' NGBs. By turning to a similar analysis in NGB B, it was possible to contrast the historical creation of gender relations in a NGB that is 100 years younger. The discourses that were expressed within NGB B's brief history reflected much of the change in attitude towards women's roles in society and their involvement in sports participation and management. Although there was no official history of NGB B, a number of documents were analysed to provide some understanding of the historical construction of gender relations in the organisation. For example, until 1998, there was a '*Women's news*' section in the organisation's magazine (NGB B, 1997a). This featured articles on women's participation, training, and competition results. In addition, a section was devoted to issues such as the discussion of equity within the organisation and positive views were expressed such as; "opportunities should be made available that give women a choice ... I welcome the day when [articles] are accompanied by photos and examples of women as automatic inclusion" (Hughes, 1997, p. 15). Another formal expression of women's influence was expressed within the Women's Committee⁹ that existed until 1998. That committee was created to; "redress the imbalance [of participation]. Women are the only group of people who enjoy the benefit of a NGB B committee working on their behalf" (NGB B, 1998a, p. 2). In addition, a Women's Handbook was also developed (NGB B, 1998a). This was aimed at new and established women members; "to find out exactly where you can find help to improve your enjoyment in your [sporting] experience" (NGB B, 1998a p. 4). Even men's perceived greater strength and athleticism did not receive the usual plaudits that were exhibited in the other organisations. Readers were encouraged; "don't follow our male counterparts in training, train as you feel" (NGB B, 1997a p. 14).

Despite the historically positive moves within NGB B to create equitable gender relations, resistance was expressed to these discourses through the articulation of antagonism to Women's Training Weekends. This had developed over a period of time and was expressed in letters to the organisation in the 1990s. The dominant discourses in the organisation that supported such weekends were re-articulated by a response to the letters. In this, it was stated; "we've had a lot of flak about holding a Women's Training Weekend ... [this is] disappointing and unsporting" (Taylor, 1999, p. 15).

⁹ Also known as the Women's Commission. The titles are used synonymously within the organisation's literature

A number of equitable organisational practices such as the Women's Handbook were developed in NGB B. These were aimed at redressing a perceived imbalance between women and men in the sport and contrasted to Martin's (1996) contention of the prevalence of male domination within organisations. The creation of the various spaces in which women could air their views suggested that gender relations were created with emphasis on women's input. There may have been many reasons for this, however, it initially appeared that the more proactive societal discourses, which were evident in NGB B, were due to a lack of commitment to the Victorian practices that were evident in NGBs A and C. Baron et al. (1991) have suggested that an organisation's youth may be a reason for such openness towards equity. In addition, women's sporting ability and management presence from the start of the organisation ensured that they were an intrinsic part of knowledge creation. Furthermore, the formal acknowledgement of women within the Women's Committee was a commitment to their value within the organisation and thus cemented their place at the heart of NGB B. As knowledge and power are inherently linked (Foucault, 1979), so women's knowledge in NGB B was influential in contrast to NGBs A and C.

Yet, even within NGB B, there was some resistance to the acceptance of women as athletes and their influence within the sport. Those who felt marginalised by the imposition of Women's Training Weekends resisted moves towards equity within the organisation. A lack of consultation and the imposition of 'positive' discourses may in fact have caused more controversy and tension within the construction of gender power relations than an interactive process might have produced. Foucault (1980) argued that resistance is essentially positive and persuasively suggested that challenges to dominant discourses ensure progress. Resistance in NGB B challenged equity and therefore challenged Foucault's (1980) utopian view of relational power. It was not entirely clear why such negative resistance was expressed, when the creation of equitable views and discourses was central to the organisation. The frustration of some men, expressed in letters to the management of NGB B, indicated a feeling that equity should have included their needs and that they should have been able to attend 'men only' sessions. Such a claim would, however, fail to acknowledge the centrality of men to most training sessions. It may also have been felt that, as women were 'naturally' slower than men, they did not deserve extra attention, which was provided in Women's Training Weekends. The possible presence of such inequitable discourses, which may have accounted for challenges to dominant, equitable discourses, ensured that, as Foucault (1979) has suggested; "points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network" (p. 95). The impact of such resistance in NGB B, while reinforcing Foucault's (1979) argument, also challenged equitable gender relations within the organisation. Contrary to much of Foucault's (1979) argument, therefore, resistance did not further the views of those who are traditionally repressed (i.e. women in societal gender relations) but strengthened men's overall dominance. This indicates, therefore, that Foucault's

(1979) view of resistance as a force for 'social good' may be limited as it does not acknowledge that resistance in an equitable situation may lead to pressures for discrimination.

The analyses of these versions of historical events therefore provided insight into the complex diversity of gender power relations in the organisations. In order to further analyse the influence of history, and to indicate *how* a number of Victorian practices have had influence particularly in NGBs A and C, I now turn to the second category within the discussion, that of the protection of historical traditions and institutionalised practices.

The historical protection of traditions and institutionalised practices

The protection of traditions was most clearly identified within NGB C. This organisation had royal patronage that dated back to 1886 and the Duke of Clarence (Miroy, 1986). The importance of this was identified in the publication of a letter sent by the Association to the Duke of Clarence in which the; "grateful thanks of the committee of the great honour conferred upon the Association" were expressed (Miroy, 1986, p. 83). The men's Association was also claimed by its members to be the first of any sport in the world. The Association was lauded as; "today controll[ing] the game in England and is the oldest national Association in the world" (Miroy, 1986, p. 77). A great deal of pride was evident about these historical events and was summed by one commentator in 1951. He stated that; "how inspired was the genius that so neatly satisfied what appears to be an almost universal appetite for the game" (Howells, 1997, p. 22). The loyalty to the practices that were expressed within the 'genius' of the Association was summed up by the Chief Executive. He said that; "we have a loyalty to our staff and we believe that they have gained the experience which makes them the best for the job" (Moore, 1994, p. 5).

The protection of traditions was equally well presented in the women's game. The women's Association had attracted crowds of up to 68,000 people to games by 1976. This was; "[recorded as] an all time high for [the sport] in Britain or anywhere else" (Douglas, 1993, p. 4). Not only did this indicate the organisational ability of the women's Association, it also provided a healthy revenue that was described as the; "envy of every sporting body, (including the men's Association) who were limping along on a thin income from affiliation fees" (Douglas, 1993, p. 4). The women's Association was strongly committed to these successful organisational practices. This loyalty was exemplified in the statement that; "[the women's Association] will not countenance any amalgamation [with the men] until they have celebrated their centenary in 1995" (Douglas, 1993, p. 4). Furthermore, the underlying reasons for trepidation about the merger by the women was explained. It was suggested that; "[the women] fear, quite understandably, that the administrative side of any new Association will be dominated by men" (Douglas, 1993, p. 5).

Yet despite the concerns to protect traditions, an alternative view of history indicated that many within the women's Association perceived the advantages of keeping and adopting

some of the men's more powerful traditions. An influential woman wrote in the organisation's magazine that; "amalgamation has to be a good thing. The men tend to come off best for publicity, so anything that helps the women to greater coverage has got to be good" (Herbert & Harris, 1994, p. 7). A senior member of the men's Association wrote that; "the women's game still suffers, amalgamation could help to change that. I can't see any disadvantages" (Herbert & Harris, 1994, p. 7).

An examination of the protection of traditions enables the analysis of historically protected discourses, which were influential in creating gender power relations in NGB C. Members of both Associations had developed and protected knowledge, such as pride in a royal association for the men and success in managing a healthy budget for the women. The challenge of relinquishing this to a new Association proved to be hard (Douglas, 1993; Whitson, 1990) because of the pride in, and attachment to, these organisational discourses. This process of knowledge development helped to create an organisational 'truth' for each Association. Foucault (1972) has argued that such a creation of historical truth by influential individuals enables the reinforcement of power in their interests. The protection of this truth in the men's and women's Associations that formed NGB C centred on the defence of institutionalised practices and served to guard against the perceived threat of the other organisation. Specifically, women may have felt that their organisation, as it was voluntary, was undervalued (Reed, 1996). There was also a threat that it would be taken over by the men's Association, which was professional and thus in line with Sport England's criteria for a modern NGB. This would threaten the influence of women, some of whom had become very powerful within their Association. As the men's Association was therefore synonymous with dominant discourses, it was understood by the women to be in a far stronger position in the new NGB C. The protection of discourse may, following Foucault's (1972) suggestion, have ensured a feeling of security for those in authority. It was thus important for men to protect institutionalised practices in their professional history and women to protect their previous influence in the voluntary Association. The effect of this on the construction of gender relations was that individuals were suspicious of each other's motives and thus slow to acknowledge that they could work together.

These differences were, however, overcome to a certain extent. It was the acknowledgement of the potential for women and men to work together, with positive input from both Associations, which had to be identified before the merger could be successful. Once this was undertaken and amalgamation was understood as 'a good thing', progress occurred. Foucault (1972) has suggested that once traditional power structures are challenged, then it is possible to progress into new ways of defining and understanding society and this was the case in NGB C. Rather than 'murdering history' (Foucault, 1972), individuals acknowledged the potential benefit to NGB C from some of the traditions of both of the old Associations, thus accepting an alternative view of history. The impetus behind this change in heart may have been

the impact of Lottery funding, for, rather than bid against each other as two different sports, it was beneficial to the two Associations to work together. It may therefore be suggested that the 'forcing hand' of the Lottery funding encouraged a reassessment of discourses within NGB C and the development of closer gender relations. Further repercussions of the effects of the Lottery on gender relations are addressed in later chapters.

The protection of institutionalised practices also played a part in the continuation of historical discourses that influenced gender relations within NGB A. Concern was expressed in the *Past Presidents' Commission report* (NGB A, 1998a) about the protection of such practices. National Governing Body A's National Committee was criticised in this report for failing to communicate the need for various policies to the rest of the organisation in order to receive funding from Sport England. Such policies included the creation of a strategy to develop gender equity. Irritation about the furtiveness that was expressed by the National Committee's actions was evident in the *Past President's Commission report*. In that report, it was stated; "if we wish to continue to enjoy public funding for the membership, we must conduct ourselves and our affairs along nationally accepted principles [i.e create an equity policy]" (NGB A, 1998a p. 19). It was specifically argued in the document that; "if key [funding] documents are withheld from the Committee, it is hard to see how it can discharge its functions" (NGB A, 1998a, p. 12). An abuse of power within the organisation was felt by the Commission members to have taken place. Funding criteria had not been met because modern strategies, including the creation of gender equity policies, had not been developed thus leading to a protection of dated organisational practices. As the authors of the report stated; "knowledge is power ... with knowledge and power comes responsibility" (NGB A, 1998a p. 11). While critical of the organisation, this report was ignored, thus suggesting that the protection of traditional practices, many of which reinforced men's positions within the organisation, were protected.

As the *Past President's Commission* (NGB A, 1998a) report implied, knowledge, in the form of commitment to equity, and thus many women's interests, was kept from organisational members by the Senior Management. Following Foucault's (1979) argument that knowledge and power are deeply inter-related, the selective dissemination of information by management was an example of the creation of powerful knowledge to which only influential individuals had access. This led to, amongst other issues, the marginalisation of the potential development of equitable gender relations. The protection of such powerful knowledge from the organisation as a whole served to reduce the influence of equity projects for, as Cockburn (1990) has suggested, the power to create equity policies is often in the hands of male managers who wish to do little to challenge their own influence. This was clearly the case in NGB A and suggested that the challenging discourses, which were expressed within the *Past President's Commission* report, were successfully resisted by NGB A's senior management. As in a Foucauldian analysis of power, the expression of resistance to change ensured that power relations were constantly

fluctuating. Yet, contrary to Foucault's (1980) analysis of resistance, dominant discourses prevailed and gender power relations were created along influential, masculine lines, rather than resisted and changed. By ensuring this through the selective creation of knowledge, members of the Senior Management were able to protect their own positions. Mills (1993) has suggested that critical equity policies challenge organisational discourses, and, by choosing not to acknowledge this, managers were able to ignore the need for change and thus continue in power. An alternative view of this incident may be that senior managers' actions were not as deliberate as the above analysis suggests, for they may have not been fully aware of a need for change. As Baron et al. (1991) have suggested, if people have been in a particular organisation for a number of years, they may not be aware of the progress in equity in other organisations and the need to change their own. If this was the case in NGB A, the actions of senior managers indicated a lack of awareness of equity and thus little commitment to challenges to discriminatory practices in the future.

In contrast to NGBs A and C, the protection of traditions and institutionalised practices in NGB B resulted in a commitment to protecting positive gender relations. The Chief Executive Officer wrote that; "in all aspects of the sport, equality is of major importance – and one in which equity is so well established that it is an automatic presumption rather than having to be fought for on every individual issue" (NGB B, 1998a, p. 2). A sense that organisational structures ensured a commitment to equity was also expressed. It was suggested that; "the infrastructure is well established to cater for women in NGB B. [We] have a Women's Committee whose primary aim will continue to be to introduce more women into the sport and ensure that their needs are cared for" (NGB B, 1997b, p. 12). The Women's Committee was identified as something that would benefit from protection; "it is vitally important that the work of the Women's Committee continues to ensure that ... issues of particular interest or concern to women are raised" (Hughes, 1997, p. 15). Highlighting the importance of women's involvement did not appear to have been carried out at the expense of men's involvement. For example, Women's Training Weekends were created because; "I've been out training so many times with the guys in my club, and I've found it really depressing to be left behind so often" (NGB B, 1998a, p. 4). It was therefore of great importance to members of NGB B that the ideals of 'equity' and 'women's issues' were central to NGB B's agenda but; "*not* to exclude men from attending" (Taylor, 1999, p. 15).

There was, however, some threat to the equitable nature of NGB B. The *Women's news* section disappeared from the organisation's magazine and features on women's races became less prominent from 1998. Despite the 'vital importance' of the Women's Commission, it was disbanded at the end of 1998, and incorporated within the Development Committee. Therefore, the commission, which had been identified as synonymous with equity, no longer existed. Reasons for this were not specifically articulated. However, it is likely that this was linked to

the development of professionalisation that was suggested in the organisation's *Management and Structure Review* (Leisure Futures Limited, 1998). This report was commissioned by NGB B in an attempt to promote a structure that would be in line with the English Sports Councils' requirements (English Sports Council, 1997a). No reactions to this were formally expressed within the organisation but informal data were gathered about the demise of the Women's Committee, which are discussed later.

Unlike NGBs A and C, the creation of knowledge in NGB B favoured women's influence. The apparently successful effort made in this organisation to create dominant discourses, which were equitable, contrasted to the findings of many other organisational analyses (Cockburn 1990; Martin 1994). The establishment of organisational discourses in NGB B contributed to the creation of organisational knowledge that, according to Foucault (1972) is contingent with power. Knowledge about women's abilities and inclusion were therefore influential and positively affected equity within the organisation. This outlines the uniqueness of some of NGB B's management practices, which may have been the result of the youth of the organisation (Baron et al., 1991). It was also notable that women's performances in the early years of NGB B were considerably better than men's on the international stage. It was therefore in the organisation's interests not to marginalise women but to create a version of knowledge that included and valued their performances. As Foucault (1972) has indicated, such knowledge may have; "validity [which] is recognized from the outset" (p. 22) and is unquestioned. Within NGB B, such knowledge became influential in the organisation and thus became established as the 'truth' about gender relations. It is, however, worth noting that despite women's inclusion in NGB B, the needs men who were novice within the sport were not specifically addressed by the organisation. This is discussed in later chapters.

Despite the unique nature of gender relations in NGB B, a reading of alternative histories within the organisation indicated some challenges to equitable behaviour. This was expressed through the termination of the Women's Committee, the removal of the *Women's news* section, and the reduction of features on women's competitions. These moves occurred at a time when the organisation was engaging with discourses of professionalism that were encouraged by the English Sports Council and thus questioning and distancing itself from its voluntary roots. Kerfoot and Whitehead (1998) have indicated that the adoption of particular professional discourses in organisations may increase the influence of dominant masculinities. Whether understood as an increase in masculine work practices or a decrease in women's influence, the historical commitment to a balance of equity in NGB B was disturbed by the commitment to a specific form of professionalisation in which funding and the development of elite athletes overtook the focus on equity, which is discussed further in Chapter 7. Ironically, the adoption of the English Sports Council's professional discourses appeared to have contradicted the dictate of increased equity that was also demanded by the Council. Yet as

funding was dependent on embracing such discourses, this organisation had little choice but to marginalise the importance of women's participation and pursue the development of elite athletes, thus undermining many discourses that were linked to equity. The demise of historically 'women centred practices' may be understood as a result of a resistance to equity. The expression of resistance as a challenge to equity contradicts and questions Foucault's (1972, 1979) arguments in which resistance is equated with positive outcomes, which is discussed further in the following chapters

The analysis of formal expression of histories partially illustrates how gender power relations were created in the NGBs. The historical creation of gender relations and the protection of traditions and institutionalised practices played a large part in the development of gender relations. In NGB A, gender relations had clearly favoured men from the start of the organisations, as women's input was largely ignored or undervalued. In NGB C, the process of merging the men's and women's Associations had highlighted the tensions between the two organisations. Despite the short history of NGB B, however, it was possible to highlight a commitment to equity, and thus show some contrast to NGBs A and C. As illustrated within the analysis of NGB B, which appeared to embrace the concept of equity with more enthusiasm than NGBs A and C, the youthful nature of the organisation appeared to be a factor in developing equitable discourses. In order to develop the analysis in this section, and to show comparable and contrasting views, I now turn to the analysis of the informal data.

Informal creation of organisational histories

The construction of gender power relations was examined further through the analysis of informally expressed data, which were coded into the following categories of; historical attitudes towards employment positions; the protection of traditions and institutionalised practices; and historical access to networks.

Historical attitudes towards employment roles

The historical creation of gender relations was partially identified through attitudes towards employment positions. In NGB A, a Development Officer outlined the background to job roles that were held by women and men. He said that; "apart from two of our professional staff, there are no females... it's been like that since the year dot." When questioned about the large number of women Regional Development Officers (RDOs), the Chief Executive said; "when we advertised the job, we were looking for youngsters, we think it's a young person's job, rushing around, and we advertised nation-wide, we were overwhelmed with girls applying." Five women were appointed to these jobs in 1985. One female RDO said; "when they first started, they were called 'the girlyies' by the senior management." The lack of influence accredited to this employment role was highlighted by one woman's view on the career structure of such a position. She noted that there was; "no career structure. It's a bit of a worry,

ending a contract. There are no real jobs at NGB A for an ex Development Officer.” In addition to the creation of the employment roles as ‘women’s work’, discourses were expressed which suggested that the role of Development Officer had been created with specific assumptions of women’s actions in mind. For example, the short-term nature of the contracts (1-3 years) was based on historical assumptions about women’s behaviours. A senior manager explained why RDO contracts were so short. He suggested that; “if you’ve got females who are taking chunks of time out to have families, that will mitigate against them.”

The lack of value that was associated with modern RDO employment roles was a result of specific historical knowledge creation. This linked assumptions about childcare with a perceived low value of women’s contribution to the organisation. Stereotypical views about women’s behaviours, such as ‘females taking time out to have families’ indicated the discriminatory view that such actions were not valued in the organisation and that it was presumed that men would *not* take time out. Such discourses reinforced Martin’s (1994) view that women are expected to want to have children and, if this impinges on their paid work, it will ‘let the organisation down’. In contrast, men are not expected to be involved in childcare (Reed, 1996) and are thus less likely to present problems for organisations. Men who espoused such views were therefore understood to be more valuable to NGB A. The expressions of such assumptions within the organisation indicated a stereotypical, dated view of men’s approach to paternity leave and family, thus marginalising men who contributed to child care. Such knowledge had, following Foucault’s (1972) analysis of the relationship between power and knowledge, become influential and permeated this organisation through its constant repetition by senior managers and acceptance as ‘truth’ by organisational members.

The predominance of such views may be understood to contradict widespread changes in many organisations in which women are increasingly likely to return to work after pregnancy (Martin, 1990), and in which men contribute to child care. This may not have been acknowledged in NGB A because some women had not gone back to work after pregnancy, realising the lack of value that was attributed to their roles. Moreover, women may have explored opportunities other than work after their maternity leave. While this may have benefited the women’s interests, the combination of these factors served to reinforce the view, which was prevalent in NGB A, of women as ‘unstable’ in work (Collinson et al., 1990). By extending this argument, it was assumed in NGB A that men would be stable, once again indicating stereotypical, homogeneous views of men’s abilities. This further undervalued the influence of women in the creation of gender relations within this organisation. The derogatory discourses that were expressed in individuals’ descriptions of RDO’s roles were therefore not far removed from the “jokey and patronising” (NGB A, 1996, p. 22) words used by Victorian writers and served to reinforce assumptions about women’s and men’s characteristics. This indicated that little had changed in the 100 years of the organisation’s history and reinforced

Foucault's (1972) suggestion that historically expressed discourses contextualise current practice and may influence contemporary power relations. As historically constructed knowledge about women's roles became more prominent, such discourses became reified (Jermier, 1991) in the role of RDO and hard to challenge, thus diminishing women's influence within the organisation.

The lack of resistance to such views may have been linked to the lack of career structure in the RDO employment role. The association of such positions as jobs for 'girlyies' with minimal career structure ensured that, as Cockburn (1990) has suggested, women found it hard to progress within the organisation. As the jobs were poorly structured, moreover, there were no avenues for women to express their concerns over employment roles. This suggested that, while micro resistance (Foucault, 1980) was evident in women's concerns, it was not integrated into the organisational fabric of NGB A. Due to the poor structure of RDO roles in NGB A, it was thus hard to facilitate change. This may have been because, as Reed (1996) suggested, women who had traditionally been volunteers may not have expected to have influence in the organisation or a structured employment role and therefore did not pursue challenges to historical views of their roles. In addition, as Foucault (1972) argued, those in dominant positions would not have welcomed challenges, by women and those men who supported them, to dominant discourses. The influences of a lack of structure, minimal resistance, and the historical domination of powerful discourses therefore ensured that there was little potential change to the structure of RDO roles. This led to the reification of certain views about RDOs and women's involvement in the organisation, which; "facilitate[d] the reproduction of labour processes and other structures of domination" (Jermier, 1991, p. 231). The lack of willingness, or ability, to resist such discourses ensured that gender relations remained largely unchallenged in the organisation.

The historical construction of gender relations was also evident in NGB C. The Financial Director illustrated some of the reasons for the creation of two largely dissimilar organisations, rather than one unified Association;

it goes back in social history because when the men's Association was established, in 1886, you have to think, that was in Victorian times ... men did what men did and women did what women did ... Whereas in one of the newer Associations, such as those founded after World War II, it would have been more natural for one.

Further reasons for the lack of integration of the Associations were proposed. As one male respondent indicated; "I don't think anyone quite knew what the two cultures were." This lack of mutual knowledge was, according to another volunteer, was based on; "that old, old problem, communication failure." The problem of poor communication was compounded, in the President's view, by stereotypical views held by women and men. She explained this by suggesting that; "I think that the issues were, if you were a male, you were saying 'well, will

there be good enough women to do jobs' and on the other hand the women were saying 'the men will dominate' which I think were the two arguments." She expressed her own, somewhat stereotypical views, stating that; "we then marry our strengths as long as the strengths on the men's side are not seen as 'the important strengths' and ours are not seen as the 'scurrying around strengths'." Despite these concerns, some individuals resisted the view that women were at a disadvantage in the early creation of the merger. One male respondent stated that; "my personal opinion is that the ladies were much better organised. They had a much smaller organisation and they knew what they were doing. It was all very clear cut." Another respondent, a senior female volunteer, suggested that; "what I find now is that there are a lot of men in the Association who will openly say that women did a better job, we were better organised, we had better value for money."

Historical tensions, and their association with employment roles before the merger, went some way to contextualising the context of gender relations in NGB C. Men and women had constructed their own versions of truth, which excluded the potential for the other to contribute to the new organisation. In so doing, they created power within their own group by reiterating their own values but, when forced to negotiate with each other, found these socially constructed barriers difficult to challenge. The construction of 'one truth' can, according to Foucault (1972), marginalise other views and, in NGB C, women and men constructed 'truths' based largely on stereotyped assumptions about each other. These views were reified within each organisation (Jermier, 1991) to the detriment of inclusive gender relations in the new organisation. This may have been based on a 'fear of the unknown' for, as the Associations had not formally interacted for over 100 years, there may have been concern, on the part of each organisation, over the abilities and agendas of the other. The tenacity of the views in each Association may have been because, as Foucault (1972) suggested, it is appealing for people to be loyal to the assumptions that they have made over a number of years, rather than challenge them and face change. This view was particularly salient for the women's Association, for as indicated above, their organisation was highly efficient and financially stable, but voluntary. In contrast, the men's Association was large and regarded as inefficient, as indicated by the number of National Assembly members. It was, however, closely linked to discourses of professionalism, which were favoured by Sport England. Some individuals within the men's Association were aware of this and, despite their reported failings as managers, may have perceived the value of their organisation to be greater than the women's. The appropriation of such power by the men's Association caused fear in the women's Association, whose members felt threatened by a take-over. While Foucault (1979) has argued that the acknowledgement of multiple discourses may develop change, it appeared in NGB C that such a recognition also served to reinforce traditional stereotypes and ensured that, whatever progress was made in developing gender relations, resistance was also evident.

These 'truths' were, however, challenged by individuals who were determined to change. For, once members of each group began to acknowledge the abilities of each other, gender relations were identified as more flexible, and the merger progressed. This was partly the result of the creation of the constitution in which 50% representation of women and men on committees was demanded. As Foucault (1972) has suggested, once these traditional truths were challenged, in this case the stereotyped views of each Association, progress occurred. In addition to this, the financial pressures of the Lottery ensured that, rather than bid against each other, the organisations had to present a united front. These deliberate and somewhat forceful actions by NGB C and the Lottery ensured that some progress was made in the development of more inclusive gender relations.

Fewer historically constructed tensions were immediately evident in gender relations within NGB B. One interviewee expressed this in his description of the current President who had been instrumental in promoting equity when she was on the executive. He stated; "lots of things in life happen by chance and ... because of her, [the sport] became a 'gender equity place' by the dint of one woman." Respondents made other more general points about the historical creation of gender power relations. For example, one stated; "I think [we] were very lucky in that [the sport] started in the 1980s ... with no baggage and a lot of women involved." This reinforced the views in the formal data that focused on the 'intrinsic' nature of equity within NGB B.

It was argued in the formal section that women's influence on knowledge creation ensured that they were influential in NGB B. Through the analysis of the above data, it is possible to suggest that women's influence was further substantiated by their manipulation of discourses. This reinforced Soper's (1993) view that individuals may influence discourses, as well as be influenced by them. This was the case in this organisation as women and men in the organisation purposefully developed equitable discourses, contrary to those in NGBs A and C. The purposeful manipulation of discourses, therefore, as well as the youth of the organisation, contributed to the creation of equitable practices within NGB B. In addition to this, some women were extremely good at this endurance sport, particularly in the early years of the organisation. Women's perceived (in)abilities in sport have often led to an association of inability to manage (Staurovsky, 1990). In NGB B, their ability to compete may have led to respect and therefore power within the organisation. In addition, some men's support of this challenged traditional views of men as protecting their own interests at the expense of women's access to influence. Within NGB B, therefore, gender relations were historically created on a more even basis than in NGBs A and C and, crucially, such attempts were taken seriously and implemented within the organisation.

The analysis of the construction of gender relations contributed to the overall examination of gender power relations. By analysing the historical attitudes of individuals to

women's and men's positions in the organisations, it was possible to contextualise current organisational discourses and show the extent of the influence of historical views within organisations. Much of the data in the formal section were substantiated in this analysis, as the historical assumptions about women's abilities in NGB A were largely unchallenged by individuals. In NGB C, the tensions surrounding the merger were reiterated, indicating some of the animosity and 'fear of the unknown' that were intrinsic in that organisation's development. In contrast in NGB B, there was an evident historical commitment to equity, which was of key concern to many individuals within the organisation. In order to analyse the influence of histories further, I turn to the informal protection of tradition within the NGBs.

The historical protection of tradition and institutionalised practices

In NGB A, a senior committee member highlighted discourses that illustrated the protection of traditional, male dominated management practices. He was asked if more women could access the committee. His focused on the perspective of the committee. He said;

You don't want to change it ... I don't think [the committee] are in any way involved in the changing of the constitution of the organisation. They can't be. They won't be changing the constitution because it has to be voted in, so it's an impasse really. So long term that is something that has to change, but how, I don't know.

Another respondent summed up the protection of traditions within the organisation. She stated that; "it's the [male] Past Presidents who choose the next president ... it is rather a closed shop."

The protection of the traditional constitution of the committee and unwillingness to develop avenues by which women might access it was a clear example of the defence of male dominated power within institutional practices. Foucault (1972) claimed that individuals may be unwilling to challenge power structures that ensure their influence. In the case of NGB A, the reluctance to allow 'outsiders', i.e. women, onto the committee restricted their access to decision making and therefore to organisational power. Women were thus unlikely to break into these male domains. Despite the dominance of this view, some individuals in the organisation were uncomfortable with the discriminatory protection of institutionalised practices. Foucault (1980) has contested that such micro levels of resistance are central to relational power and that this may lead to change. Such challenges were demonstrated in the above data, indicating that individuals were aware of the potential for change, however, resistance was expressed merely through passing comments rather than by developing change within the organisations. As such, these challenges did not necessarily indicate how micro resistance might affect and challenge historically male dominated, often discriminatory, discourses. The inability of micro resistance to change influential institutionalised practices was therefore a result of their reification (Jermier, 1991). Resistance to reified practices was unlikely to succeed, for as Cockburn (1990) has argued, the mechanisms by which change might occur were in the hands of men, who had a vested interest in their continuation. Given how unlikely challenges were to change the

organisation, traditional practices were not under threat and, as such, historically created gender relations were unlikely to be questioned within NGB A.

Within NGB C, the protection of traditions and institutionalised practices was central to the merger and subsequently affected gender power relations. It was suggested that, in the men's Association, views about working with women were extreme. A senior manager stated that; "there were the dissenters of the 'over my dead body' sort of thing." A volunteer who was influential in the merger said, of the men's organisation; "they are getting older and have their own views and there are some misogynists, women haters." A female respondent expressed the fears of the women. She noted that the women; "were disappointed [with the merger] but accepted that it was inevitable. And once we had [the offices] we couldn't let the men establish here without us, I felt very strongly ... on the women's side, we insisted that we had to safeguard the position of women." There was some resistance to this polarised view of the organisations. This was articulated by the Finance Director who expressed the perspectives of the women's and men's Associations prior to the merger. He said; "I think there were extremes. There was certainly a minority at each end. I think there was a large group in the middle ground that went with the momentum of what was happening and I'm convinced of that. And all the sabre rattling came from a loud minority."

Multiple, conflicting views on the merger were therefore evident. As with other issues within NGB C at this time, these views expressed accepted discourses, which vilified each sex in the eyes of the other. Each group thus tried to protect their traditions through the reification of their beliefs (Jermier, 1991). Yet, the final quote in this section indicated that, for some, such 'sabre rattling' was dismissed, without being taken seriously. By ignoring the misogynists' views, dominant members of the organisation also dismissed the women's fears that were linked to them, thus reinforcing Martin's (1996) view that many organisations are dominated by specific masculinities that reject radical views. By disregarding those who did not want the merger, rather than addressing the concerns of both the men and the women, such issues were therefore marginalised. The dominant view in the organisation was therefore to ignore both protagonists and, in so doing, the fears of both sides were devalued.. There is a certain irony here, for the dismissal of the misogynists was expressed by respondents as an equitable act, minimising the influence of 'extreme' views. Yet, this also ensured that these discourses were pushed 'underground' and may have become more extreme than a rational, interactive discussion would have allowed. This practice contrasted to NGB B, in which discussion and acknowledgement of radical discourses led to open dialogue. This meant that, as Foucault (1972) has proposed, the creation of one truth marginalised other views. As a result of this in NGB C, little proactive attempt was made to create equitable gender power relations in the new organisation, 'middle of the road' views prevailed, and other discourses were largely ignored.

The protection of tradition and institutionalised practices was also evident within NGB B but this served a different purpose to that expressed within NGBs A and C. It was designed to encourage resistance to the early days of NGB B, in which, as a senior volunteer stated, there was; “a lot of inequality [within] prize money, that was the biggest bone of contention.” The inequities that were embodied in this practice were addressed through a commitment to change. As a senior volunteer suggested articulated this, as he suggested that; “issues of change, innovation have always been around and a bit of a symbol and a watch word for the sport, nobody ever expected the same tomorrow!” In particular, an effort was made within the organisation to welcome women into this endurance sport. The volunteer continued by saying that it; “start[ed] as an extreme weird sport and of course that always appeals to men more and it’s about getting rid of the macho, mad bit.” He argued that this was achieved through; “[changing race] distances for a start, making sure that there are distances people can develop through, making sure that the media coverage isn’t just men.” Another volunteer said that the pursuit of change had enabled the successful development of the sport in England. He joked; “the way the sport has moved on is frightening ... whereas people in cricket are still talking about Ian Botham¹⁰. Bring back Botham! Whereas timescales in other sports can be 20 or 30 years, in our sport it’s a few weeks.” A member of the executive reinforced this by suggesting that; “I think it was a good thing, the proactivity of the ’80s, and the sport didn’t have a lot of baggage with it, so people were able to adjust and be practical and realistic.”

In the very early stages of the organisation, inequity was expressed through unequal prize money, however, this was changed due to the recognition that this practice was inequitable. This was possibly due to the relative youth of the organisation (Baron et al. 1991), its ‘baggageless’ nature, and the incorporation of women’s discourses. The inclusion of these issues was due to women’s influence and a genuine attempt by women and men to integrate equity into this ‘modern’ sport. The acknowledgement of multiple discourses reinforced Foucault’s (1972) suggestion that change and new beginnings may be achieved through the recognition of heterogeneous views. Once equitable discourses were in place, it clearly became imperative to those in the organisation to reify them and protect them. Contrary to Cockburn’s (1990) analysis, these practices were synonymous with equity. The success of the protection of these practices was specifically due to the determination of individuals to develop equitable practices, contrasting to the traditional practices in NGBs A and C. This indicated an awareness of equity within the organisation, which, as Cockburn (1990) has argued, is rare. It was possible to develop this equitable stance because both women and men in the organisation were committed to it. Consequently, it was developed as organisational knowledge, which then

¹⁰ Ian Botham is an English cricketer whose exploits in the 1980s were associated with a ‘golden age’ in the sport. When the English team perform badly, this is revisited by the media – hence ‘bring back Botham!’

became powerful. The gender relations in NGB B had therefore developed, throughout its short history, to become, relative to the other organisations, equitable.

The protection of traditions therefore played a large part in constructing gender power relations within the NGBs and the historical circumstances of each organisation determined the direction of this practice. For example, the traditional male dominance of NGB A ensured that organisational practices, which favoured men's interests, were protected. In NGB C, the protection of traditions was evidenced by both 'pre-merger' organisations, as individuals in each attempted to secure power in the new organisation. Finally, in NGB B, a commitment to equity and its protection was evidenced, perhaps largely due to the youth of the organisation. In the final section of this chapter, I turn to historical access to powerful organisational networks (Hovden, 2000), and indicate how this has influenced current networks and aided the creation of gender power relations within the organisations.

Historical access to power networks

By access to power networks, I refer to the ability for certain individuals to become part of influential groups within an organisation (Hultin & Szulkin, 1999). The historical access to influence may often be understood to be gendered, frequently favouring men (Hultin & Szulkin, 1999). Within NGB A, a regional development officer indicated the historical access to powerful networks, when she noted;

at the county level, there are more women. There's probably 60% men, 40% women, then at district [level], it's that bit less, and then [the national] committee's all male. The average age of the committee is quite high and they're stuck in their ways... it'll take donkey's years to get a woman onto [the National] Committee.

The Chief Executive substantiated this as he stated that; "one of the things that [we] were accused of proliferating was the old men in smoking jackets and blazers and you had to be over 60 to be on Committee." Another development officer indicated that the prevalence of historical networks was important to certain individuals. He said that these influential people were often; "older and retired people and they generally tend to be males and with age old traditions. It generally is difficult to change attitudes and circumstances with them." Specifically, the structures by which volunteers gained access to higher levels of the organisation were historically created. The Chief Executive described them as being exclusionary to women when he noted;

I think because sport and especially [our sport] has tended to have this sort of, to get on, you have to be a parliamentarian, the ability to speak and command if you like. Which some ladies can do very well, but some ladies don't. They're quite happy to do the committee work. But to stand in front of a hundred people takes a certain courage, a certain skill. And I'm not entirely comfortable that the system or structure which is a tad Victorian, well it's not a tad, it's very Victorian lends itself to encouraging women to put themselves forward.

Those who achieved senior roles within the administration were elected, according to a volunteer; “by the recommendation of other Past Presidents to continue to come to the meetings. Some are there because they have positions on the exec[utive]. And [younger/newer members] are few and far between. There’s an imbalance without a doubt.” The Director of Development reinforced this as she said;

Women historically have not been on the [national] committee. Only a few Presidents have been women. There is a hierarchical system in all bar one of the districts. People rise up the tree ... because of being ‘one of the boys’. If the face fits you’re fine. If you don’t scratch the back of ‘Mr X’, you get nowhere. Retired men with power rise through the ranks because of the structure. You don’t get on the [National] Committee because of ability but because of rank.

The above data indicates how male dominated networks were identified in NGB A. Hultin and Szulkin (1999) have suggested that women may have difficulties in accessing powerful networks. This may be because women have not historically been a part of the network and thus were understood by incumbents not to ‘deserve’ a place. Some women may also have perceived that to gain access to the involved time and political manoeuvring, and were thus not interested in gaining that particular type of influence. In addition, men who were not historically considered to be ‘one of the boys’ would have been unable to access power, thus some men were also marginalised in this process. Those men who were influential may not have recognised the capabilities of women and some men and thus did not invite them to join influential committees. In contrast to this, the nepotistic practices of allowing ex-Presidents to remain on the committee illustrated the assumption that powerful men have, and continue to keep despite ageing, the ability to manage. There is within many organisations, and evident in NGB A, an assumption about the ‘naturalness’ of men who embody particular definitions of leadership in management positions (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998). Kerfoot and Knights’ (1998) and Martin’s (1996) arguments about the associations of women and non-managerial capabilities were thus reinforced. Such assumptions do not, however, happen by chance. They are the result of years of historical, carefully developed networking and knowledge creation, often based on finding ‘the best man for the job’ (Martin, 1994). Foucault (1979) has suggested that such knowledge creation about abilities becomes an influential version of truth. In NGB A, such knowledge was historically created by men for men’s interests and served to undermine any realistic chance of women accessing committees.

It is not entirely clear, however, why women and marginalised men did not resist this, for following Foucault’s (1980) suggestion, power is relational. If this was the case, then women and some men, through the development of micro resistance, would be able to develop challenges (Foucault, 1980) but these were not clearly evident. It may have been that, in the face of such overwhelmingly discriminatory assumptions, women did not feel that resistance was worth the effort. As pressures on time increase within employment, it was unlikely that

marginalised individuals would be able to devote the energy required to resisting institutionalised practices. It is also possible, that as such practices were prevalent, women and some men were not aware of them as such discourses were considered to be a 'natural' part of the organisation. Discourses may become so entrenched that they go unnoticed (Foucault, 1972). Once that occurs, they are unlikely to be challenged. The lack of challenge by women or men who were either unwilling or unable to resist historical networking practices therefore ensured that gender relations in NGB A remained uncontested and therefore enabled the continuation of discriminatory institutionalised practices.

Historical access to influential networks for privileged individuals was also evident within NGB C. This had become a particular issue during the merger talks (1994-1997), as women and men tried to access newly constructed networks and thus gain influence within the organisation. It was acknowledged that women were at something of a disadvantage in this process. A senior volunteer suggested that; "the ladies had two or three members of staff and the men had loads, and the dispute was really how do you start from scratch." The Chief Executive outlined his views on how men dominated this compromise by suggesting that; "women very rarely cheat but men are always looking for the angle that's not cheating but nearly. Men are always looking for an angle ... how can I get an advantage?" The President reinforced this by saying; "if you were a charismatic chap in the men's organisation then people looked for direction and went in your direction. The Chief Executive ... was very interested in the men's game and to be honest I don't think had much interest in anything else." The influence of the Chief Executive on the Association and the importance of being able to access him was reinforced by a senior male respondent. He claimed that; "the ladies, for the first year, none of their competitions were run by the office, they were done by the volunteers and then they got round to taking on board that they weren't doing much for the ladies."

Access to influential networks in the new organisation was therefore largely dominated by men who were able to manipulate discourses to ensure that their Association was more influential than the women's. Hultin and Szulkin (1999) have suggested that access to networks increase the likelihood of ability to gain information, which is linked to knowledge and thus power. Women's marginalisation in NGB C's merger process historically reduced such access to influence. As such, the creation of gender power relations favoured influential men. Although some women and men indicated concern over this, little appeared to be done to help women progress in the organisation. Cockburn (1990) has developed an accurate analysis of this, suggesting that while some influential men may adopt token attitudes of change, they will rarely go to the lengths required in organisations to challenge masculinities. In NGB C, therefore, most men adopted a veneer of equity in the 'compromise merger' but did not act to enable women's progress into influential networks. Women, whose discourses were perceived to embody undervalued views such as volunteerism (Reed, 1996) were not in a position to actively resist

their exclusion to influence and access powerful networks. Foucault (1979) argued that resistance is everywhere. This may be the case but, as the data showed, it was not expressed by women's actions or by men's attempts to help them. If those who embody dominant discourses do not aid the development of resistance, it is therefore practically useless.

Within NGB B, the historical creation of access to power networks was linked to the language used to describe those in powerful organisational positions. For one respondent, his concerns were evidenced by the ongoing disputes over the wording within the members' Handbook (NGB B, 1998c). He stated that

I went through it and had to change all the 'he's' and take out 'Chairman' and be a real pain in the neck. But look at our last handbook and suddenly it's gone to 'Chairman' and I went ballistic. It was 'Chair', in the constitution it is 'Chair'. Our Chairman is a fairly simple soul, he's a bricklayer by trade and gender issues aren't top of the list

He further suggested that; "complacency and letting things slip is what is going on in reality in the organisation." Another respondent expressed her concern over the historical use of language within the higher levels of the organisation; "but you groan slightly when you read 'ladies' here, there, and everywhere. I find it very frustrating, the women do as well. It's either 'men' or 'women' or 'gentlemen' and 'ladies'."

The use of the word 'Chairman' indicated access to power. It was clear that through the use of such language in NGB B, men were expected to access influential networks and gain such elevated organisational positions. This contrasted to the use of the word 'lady', which expressed discourses that were embedded with knowledge about frailty and weakness and indicated exclusion to influence (Soper, 1993). Kerfoot and Knights (1998) have suggested that language may signify a societal assumption that women do not belong in certain occupational roles. As such language was associated with power in NGB B, it may be assumed that women were less able than men to access influential networks because they were not expected to be there. Kerfoot and Knights (1998) have suggested that certain versions of professionalism lead to an increase in masculine discourses. It may have been the case that, in NGB B, the increasing dominance of such language was associated by members with the organisational drive toward the specific form of professionalism that was developed by Sport England (Chapter 7). Resistance was expressed to this, in keeping with NGB B's equitable nature, the dominant influence of the Chairman prevailed, thus excluding women from such positions. It is surprising that, within a largely equitable organisation such as this, more substantial resistance was not evident. In contrast to the other organisations in this research it may have been that, as the 'old guard' moved on in NGB B, there was less intensity in the development of equitable gender relations and complacency may have set in. Only a few challenged the use of Chairman, whereas previously such language might have been an organisational issue. It is also possible that younger individuals did not perceive such labels as discriminatory but more of a generic

descriptor. Contrary to this, women were excluded from influential organisational networks, through the use of specific language and, through this, gender relations in NGB B were challenged.

Concluding comments

In this chapter, I have analysed the influence of multiple histories on the creation of gender power relations. These discourses comprised the formal and informal expression of the historical creation of such relations, and the protection of historical traditions. The informal articulation of discourses concerning historical access to power networks were also analysed. The analysis of multiple histories enabled the recognition of the many ways in which gender power relations were constructed. Individuals within NGB A expressed discourses that had traditional overtones of exclusion to women. In NGB C the merger highlighted the historical dominance of discourses that were associated with the men's Association. Gender power relations in NGB B were generally the most flexible, protecting change within the organisation and promoting women's and men's forums. Resistance to dominant discourses were evident in each organisation, reinforcing understanding of power as relational. Some contradiction with Foucault's (1979, 1980) analyses of power was evident because at times pathways for the development of resistance were unclear. In addition, the analysis of resistance showed how inequity, when it is a minority discourse, may thrive and challenge attempts to create equity. As the thesis progresses, this will be revisited in an attempt to ascertain the usefulness of Foucault's work in analysing gender power relations. In the following chapter, I analyse the construction of contemporary gender roles, masculinities and femininities within the organisations.

Chapter six: The creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities

In this chapter, I address the creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities within organisations and their contribution to the development of gender power relations in the NGBs in this research (Acker, 1990; Kerfoot & Knights, 1998). Gender roles are defined as socially constructed attributes that are associated with being a man or a woman (Acker, 1990). Masculinities, expressed through masculine discourses, are identified as socially constructed, privileged ways of thinking that dominate organisations and are *often* associated with men but may also be associated with women (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998). In contrast, femininities, expressed through feminine discourses, are socially constructed ways of thinking, featuring behaviours that are societally understood to be subordinate and are *often*, but not exclusively, expressed by women (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998). The data for the analysis of these discourses were gathered from documentary analysis, interviews, and participant observation. The collection of informal and formal data enabled the comparison of views that were formally sanctioned by the organisations and those that were informally articulated. Where the data were similar across the organisations, they are combined to prevent repetition in the analysis. When contrasts were evident, the data are segregated by organisation.

Formal creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities

The analysis of formally expressed discourses that informed gender power relations gave insights into the views that were sanctioned in the NGBs (Collinson et al., 1990; Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998). Three categories were identified within the analysis; positions held by women and men in the organisations; the embodiment of gender roles, masculinities and femininities in organisational documents; and the representation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities within the marketing literature of the organisations. The data for each category were identified through the analysis of policy and promotional documents that were produced by the NGBs.

Positions held by women and men

The following analysis is designed to indicate the roles held by women and men in the organisations studied in this research. Connell (1985) has suggested that such analysis may be too superficial to provide insight into organisational discourses, for it is only possible to indicate the gender of occupants of each organisational role. Such numerical analysis is, however, briefly undertaken here as it provides context to the gender of the position holders in the organisations and thus prompts some ideas for discussion that are expanded in the rest of the chapter. The examination of employment roles by gender also enables some understanding of the endorsement of individuals in certain positions, as these jobs were sanctioned within the organisations. This organisational approval was expressed through either the formal recruitment for professional staff or by informal networking among volunteers (Collinson et al., 1990;

McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987). Table 2 illustrates the positions held by women and men within each of the NGBs.

Table 2: Positions held by women and men in NGBs A, B, and C

	Paid Executive/Senior Management		Voluntary Executive/Senior Management	
	Total number (men and women)	Numbers of women/men	Total number (men and women)	Numbers of women/men
NGB A	5	2 women, 3 men	25	25 men
NGB B	2 (NDOs)	1 woman, 1 man	6	6 men
NGB C	7	7 men	12	6 women, 6 men*
Total	14	3 women, 11 men	43	6 women, 37 men

*equal numbers of women and men are compulsory within the voluntary sector until 2003

[Sources: (NGB A, 1998b; NGB B, 1998c; NGB C, 1998a)]

In the analysis of the paid employment roles, it was clear from Table 2 that men occupied the majority of executive or senior employment roles within each of the NGBs. Kerfoot and Knights (1998) have suggested that such roles are synonymous with knowledge that implies leadership, seniority, and influence. Within the combined paid executives of NGBs A and B, there were three women. This could perhaps be understood as an expression of resistance to men’s domination of influential organisational positions and the subsequent result of the “ceaseless struggles”, which Foucault (1979, p. 92) indicated is central to power relationships. In contrast, it may be argued that from this numerical analysis it is impossible to suggest whether women’s presence was a ‘token’ to equity or whether these women were valued members of the organisations. Such analysis is, however, developed later in the chapter.

In the voluntary management of the NGBs, no women were evident on the National Executives of NGB A. This is not surprising given the historical dominance of men in this organisation that was discussed in Chapter 5. It would appear that, contrary to Foucault’s (1979) analysis of resistance, there has been little incremental change within the management of the organisation over the past one hundred years. This may be because men have become established in influential roles, which have become reified within the organisation (Jermier, 1991). There is little chance of change because, as Foucault (1972) suggested, these powerful individuals may be unwilling to challenge the discourses that made them influential within the organisation. Although Foucault (1984b) suggested that by creating knowledge about their situations individuals may resist such dominant discourses, McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1987) have proposed that similar, like minded people are likely to dominate volunteer networks, thus expressing generally homogeneous views. As a result, few challenges to dominant discourses will be made because of a lack of heterogeneity within certain areas of voluntary employment. In NGB A, such heterogeneity would be expressed through challenges to men’s dominance, either through an increase in women, or more ‘open minded’ men in the voluntary sector.

Perhaps surprisingly, no women were represented in NGB B's voluntary executive, despite their influence in its creation. This would appear to contradict the organisation's carefully constructed ethos and challenge the view that NGB B had a positive approach to gender relations. This may be linked to the analysis of history in Chapter 5 in which it was suggested that equity issues appear to have become an increasingly low priority in the organisation, due in part to the impact of professionalisation. If so, it is possible that individuals' actions to pursue specific, elite focused professionalisation have led to the development of discourses that are resistant to equity. This may have a negative impact on the future of gender relations in NGB B as women are excluded from powerful roles. Such an expression of challenges to equity also indicates the relational and changing nature of resistance (Foucault, 1979), for early in the organisation's history, resistance was expressed to ensure the inclusion of women. Later, however, resistance appears to have been used to develop men's interests within the organisation. Resistance was therefore articulated in various complex ways, which as Foucault (1979) has suggested; "mobiliz(ed) groups or individuals in a definitive way, inflaming ... certain types of behaviour" (p. 96) These 'groups' in the case of NGB B were certain men whose interests, as in other organisations (Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998), appear to have been best served by a move to professionalisation within their organisation. By 'mobilizing' their interests, some men in NGB B have been able to resist its historically equitable nature and reinforce their power within the organisation, as indicated in Table 2.

Some contrast to this was evident in NGB C as women occupied an equal number of voluntary roles as men. It should, however, be noted that this equal representation of women and men was a direct result of the constitution, which stated that until 2003; "a quorum shall be four voting members, of whom at least two shall be women and at least two shall be men" (NGB C, 1998a, p. 32). It is, therefore, impossible to indicate at this stage whether or how gender relations will be affected by such a change in the constitution.

As indicated in the introduction, while providing a useful context to the NGBs at the time of the research, attempting to analyse gender relations purely through the numbers of women and men in the organisation is somewhat futile. As Connell (1985) has indicated, women's relative absence in the hierarchies of organisations does not necessarily mean that their views are marginalised or that only men's discourses are expressed. In order to develop the analysis of gender relations, it is necessary to examine the expression of masculine and feminine discourses within the organisations (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998). These were demonstrated through language in organisational documents and formed the second category of analysis of the formal expression of masculinities and femininities.

The embodiment of masculinities, and femininities in organisational documents

Gendered language was used in organisational documents to identify the intended sex of post holders. Within NGB A's Constitution, the Chair was referred to as 'Chairman' and both

the Chair and the President were consistently referred to as 'he' (NGB A, 1999a). For example; "the Chairman at all meetings shall be the President if he is present" (NGB A, 1999a, p. 35). The Constitution also referred to committees that were constructed for emergency 'judicial tribunals'. Despite the presence of two women on those committees in 1999-2000, the language used referred to men, stating that, in appeal; "unless he is party to the protest, no member of the National Judicial Tribunal shall participate in a hearing" (NGB A, 1999a, p. 58). In NGB C, the word 'Chairman' was consistently used to identify the person who presided over committees. For example in the Standing Orders for the conduct of all meetings, it was stated that; "the Chairman may at any time..." (NGB C, 1998a, p. 57).

In contrast, within NGB B, there was resistance to the use of Chairman and other gendered language within the Handbook. This resistance took the form of prioritising the use of non-gendered signifiers within the organisation's formal documentation. The word 'Chair' was employed throughout the rules of the organisation. It was stated, for example that; "the Chair shall ensure the strict application..." (NGB B, 1998c, p. 74). Throughout the rules of NGB B, non-gendered language was used, even where this practice occasionally meant the use of 'clumsy' syntax. For example, it was stated that; "the elected regional representative shall be entitled to vote. If the designated regional representative is unable..." (NGB B, 1998c, p. 75). Where a gender signifier could not be avoided, both sexes were represented; "The Chair, in his/her absence" (NGB B, 1998c, p. 81). Yet, despite the determination of most individuals to use gender non-specific language, the use of 'Chairman' had crept back into use in recent copies of the organisation's Handbook, as the Chair signed his report "NGB B Chairman" (NGB B, 1998c, p. 8).

The use of 'he' and 'Chairman' to indicate individuals in prominent positions was endemic in NGBs A and C. Martin (1994) has suggested that men are often understood to belong 'naturally' within influential positions and that this may be indicated by the use of such language. In contrast, women are assumed not to belong within such positions. The use of gendered language may not necessarily, however, have been a deliberate attempt to exclude women, for the association of men with power was not dichotomous, i.e. the word 'woman' was not used to refer to less influential organisational positions. It is therefore more likely that this use of language was the result of the reification of a possibly unintentional, yet effective, organisational practice (Jermier, 1991). This practice affected women for, as Calás and Smircich (1992b) have suggested, it reified masculine discourses and men's positions in leadership roles and, as such, it 'normalised' feminine discourses and women into low organisational positions. Calás and Smircich (1992b) argued that as Chair 'man' is clearly articulated within organisational literature as 'powerful', then it is assumed that 'woman' is normalised as 'weak'. Women's positions were not articulated in organisations through the suffix 'woman' because it was assumed that they were in lowly positions for; "the signifier 'woman' [and man] plays a

very important part as a way to convey relationships of domination/subordination and maintain the normality of hierarchical structures” (Calás & Smircich, 1992b, p. 232). The accidental or purposeful prevalence of such structures ensured that men’s and women’s positions were normalised in NGBs A and C. Calás and Smircich (1992b) suggested that there is a need for the use of such language to be clarified and resisted in organisations in order for changes to occur. These developments are unlikely to be sudden within the organisations but, if they are to occur, are likely to encompass Foucault’s (1979) suggestion of a “plurality of resistance” (p. 96). That is, an incremental change in the use of language may occur, perhaps persuading people that language, which is inclusive to women, may be employed within organisational documents. At the time of the research, however, such an awareness of language was not evident.

This lack of awareness of inclusive/exclusive language within the organisations may indicate that individuals were uninformed of its potentially discriminatory nature. The apparent absence of such awareness may mean that individuals did not have the knowledge with which to articulate resistance to gender relations in NGBs A and C. From a Foucauldian (1979) perspective, without such knowledge, individuals are unable to resist power and thus change their circumstances. This is not to suggest, however, that the individuals who were discriminated against by such language in NGBs A and C were permanently ‘powerless’ for; “power becomes apparent when it is exercised” (Townley, 1993, p. 520). That is, if people choose to exercise power, then they are able to create it through the appropriation and cultivation of specific, relevant knowledge. In order to resist the common use of discriminatory language, therefore, individuals in NGB A and C must choose to exercise and thus make apparent their power to understand such language and challenge it. According to Foucault (1984b, p. 46) such appropriation of power should not be developed in an attempt to find ‘universal’ answers to discrimination such as those found in Critical Theory. He hinted that; “we know from experience that the claim to escape from the system of contemporary reality so as to produce overall programs of another society, of another way of thinking, ... another version of the world, has led only to the return of the most dangerous of traditions.” In contrast to Critical Theory, Foucault (1984b) suggested that the development of individuals’ knowledge and thus resistance will not; “seek to identify the universal structures of all knowledge or of all possible moral action but will seek to treat the instances of discourses that articulate what we think, say and do”(p. 46). It is, therefore, in the hands of individuals to identify their own personal circumstances and the discourses that influence them and to ‘treat’ or challenge those discourses. In the cases of NGBs A and C, it is up to individuals to choose whether they wish to know how and why such discriminatory language has become influential and how they may change it. At the time of the research, this did not appear to be a concern of individuals within these organisations.

It is possible to speculate as to why such resistance has not been an identifiable trend within the organisations. In a rare discourse on the possibility of ‘reality’ tempering his views on power, Foucault (1984b) provided some insight as to why resistance and change may be difficult. He argued that while individuals should; “open up a realm of historical inquiry” and thus question the discourses by which society, and specifically in this research the NGBs, are run, they should also; “put [historical inquiry] to the test of reality, of contemporary reality, both to grasp the points where change is possible and desirable and to determine the precise form this change should take” (Foucault, 1984b, p. 46). Foucault (1984b) was therefore aware that ‘reality’ could reduce the impact of the creation of knowledge, which in turn may reduce the development of resistance. In the cases of NGBs A and C, it appeared that the ‘reality’ which tempered a development of change was the lack of understanding or an unwillingness to develop resistance to gendered language. This may have been because it was not considered to be important within the organisation, individuals were de-sensitised to the inclusionary/exclusionary nature of language, or they believed that such language was not discriminatory in NGBs A and C.

The use of gendered language to illustrate organisational posts was less evident within NGB B. This may indicate some organisational awareness of resistance by individuals within this organisation to perceived inequities in other organisations. As was indicated in Chapter 5, the avoidance of gendered language may also indicate an attempt to manipulate discourses as a result of an awareness of the pitfalls of such a practice that were identified by Calás and Smircich (1992b). For, as language was manipulated in NGB B in an attempt *not* to identify power with the suffix ‘man’, then a lack of influence could not be associated with ‘woman’. In other words, the widespread use of the word Chair in organisational documents was gender neutral, thus not associating power, or a lack of it, with either sex. Attempts to manipulate discourses, such as those called for by Calás and Smircich (1992b), resulted in a balanced creation of gender power relations in NGB B. This appeared to reflect an awareness of the specific historical use of language in NGB B on the part of decision makers and a willingness to be aware of discriminatory practices within those discourses. An understanding of history need not necessarily, therefore, link individuals irrevocably to traditional discriminatory practices (Foucault, 1984b), which are evident in many sport organisations. Rather, an appreciation of the historical creation of language will; “separate out, from the contingency that has made us what we are, the possibility of no longer being, doing, or thinking what we are, do, or think” (Foucault, 1984b, p. 46). This means that a realisation by individuals of how organisations have developed may ensure that they are conscious of alternative futures. In NGB B, an understanding of how language may have been used in other sport organisations, or within the early years of the NGB, might have led individuals to challenge previous thoughts and change to use more widely inclusive language.

In contrast to this careful manipulation of discourses was the incremental growth of the use of 'Chairman' in NGB B. This indicated an organisational 'enigma' and highlighted the fluctuating power relations that were evident within the organisation. Where resistance to inequity was expressed through non-gendered language, further resistance was also evident in the increase in gendered language. Foucault (1984b) suggested that the constant struggle between resistance and domination is inevitable as individuals; "risk [determination] by more general structures of which we might not be conscious" (p. 47). In the case of NGB B, therefore, there was a constant and continuing risk that whenever discriminatory 'general structures' such as societal discourses are challenged, they will in turn resist the efforts of individuals. In the case of NGB B, the societal discourses were expressed through the assumptions that 'Chairman' was a suitable label for the leader of the organisation.

The effects on gender relations of this 'resistance to resistance' may be analysed through the arguments expressed by Cockburn (1990). She argued that, however equitable an organisation appears to be, there will always be resistance to this. This is due to equity being in the hands of some men who may often be unwilling to challenge the discourses that have made, and continue to make, them powerful (Cockburn, 1990). It would appear that, despite efforts by NGB B to embrace equitable discourses, resistance to this, in the expression of gendered language, can be seen as inevitable. It is not entirely clear why such language emerged within the organisation. It is possible, that as suggested in Chapter 5, a degree of complacency within the organisation had crept into documents. It is also possible that, as Martin (1994) suggested, some men felt that it was 'natural' or 'right' for a man to be in the Chair's position. If so, then they may have wished to associate the word Chairman with that role. Not only were women marginalised by this, men who resisted the use of Chairman were also excluded from the decision making process. It may also be equally argued that this incident should not be taken too seriously, for as many Postmodern theorists suggest, language is highly transient (Lyotard, 1984). If this is the case, then the use of Chairman may be challenged and changed by the time the next publication emerges from NGB B.

The analysis of specific examples of gendered language gave some further insight into the expression of masculinities and femininities and their effects on the creation of gender power relations within the NGBs (Alvesson & Billing, 1997; Foucault, 1984b). It was suggested that the discourses that were expressed in organisational documents may be influential in discriminating against women's inclusion in leadership roles in NGBs A and C. In contrast, due to the manipulation of discourses and attempts to change local level assumptions within the organisation, NGB B expressed more inclusive uses of language. Further understanding of these relations can be highlighted through the analysis of the image that the NGBs wished to portray to the public, through their marketing tactics.

The representation of masculinities and femininities within marketing literature

Marketing an organisation sends out messages to competitors and other interested parties. The image of the organisation must, therefore, be carefully constructed within its marketing plans (Amis, Slack, & Berrett, 1998). It may be suggested that gendered images, which were expressed in the marketing literature of NGBs A, B, and C, were those that were sanctioned by the organisations and were promoted to the public. These images were, therefore, if following Amis et al.'s (1998) argument, created to promote a specific image. Within NGB A's promotional literature, a selection of photographs was used to market the organisation (NGB A, 1997). Within the photographs, the numbers of women and men, boys and girls were even. Men were, however associated with traits that may be argued were masculine, i.e. competitive or aggressive, whereas women were associated with roles and situations that might be described as feminine, i.e. they were in submissive or caring roles. For example, boys and men were seen playing games and involved in competitive tasks. Men punched the air in victory, boys proudly displayed their medals (NGB A, 1997). In contrast, girls were depicted learning the sport and women were involved in child care, caring for people with disabilities, and participating in a form of non competitive aerobics that was associated with the sport (NGB A, 1997).

The women who were portrayed in NGB A were involved in caring roles. The depiction of such actions were hardly those that excite much emotion in the public. As Kerfoot and Whitehead (1998) have suggested, women are often expected to take on feminine roles within society, express feminine discourses and thus not become involved in competitive, aggressive experiences. Such functions have been associated with 'private' roles (Reed, 1996) and femininity (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998), which are both, according to Reed (1996) undervalued in society. A portrayal of women and femininities in this way has been understood to be more acceptable within society than women who express masculinities in the form of competition and aggression (Davis, 1997; Kerfoot & Knights, 1998; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990). Through this association of women with feminine discourses and traditional roles, in NGB A's marketing literature, women were not 'real' sports people. Equally, if they expressed masculinities, they would not be understood to be 'real women' (Davis, 1997). Through association with traditional, stereotyped discourses, women's lack of influence in NGB A was reinforced. Furthermore, alternative discourses were not expressed in which men might be executing 'caring roles', thus marginalising some men's interests. A form of knowledge creation was therefore carried out in the marketing literature of NGB A, in which stereotypical roles were assigned to women and men. Following Foucault's (1979) analysis of power and knowledge, it is possible to suggest that these images were influential in the organisation and not only reflected stereotypical views but also served to recreate them through their reiteration.

The choice that was made in NGB A to portray only men in competitive roles is, in some ways, surprising. Although NGB A has been analysed in this research as one of the more traditional NGBs, it represents a sport that is participated in by both women and men at elite and participatory levels. There were, therefore, numerous examples of women competing that could have been used within the organisation's marketing literature. It is therefore possible that those responsible for creating such documents were not fully aware of the benefits of expressing women's and men's abilities. As Cuneen and Sidwell (1998) have argued, women may be 'turned off' by the constant repetition of, and association with, feminine characteristics. Women who participate in competitive sport, suggested Cuneen and Sidwell (1998), are more attracted by marketing literature that reinforces this aspect. The publicity brochure for NGB A, therefore, not only served to recreate and reinforce gendered discourses, it also potentially deterred women from joining the organisation. Of equal importance is the reluctance to associate men with working with athletes with disabilities or children, thus reinforcing stereotypes about men's interests and participation. This indicates that, to the organisation's potential detriment, an ignorance of alternative discourses was expressed and thus unequal gender relations were reiterated in NGB A.

In NGB B, a more positive representation of women's participation was expressed, as a victorious female athlete was featured on the front cover of the *NGB B Handbook* (NGB B, 1998c). Arms aloft, this woman embodied pride in her victory. Women's involvement in sport as participants and performers was thus evident and promoted within the marketing literature. The focus on women was also expressed in other areas of the organisation's publicity. The *Handbook for Women* (NGB B, 1998a) was specifically designed to assist and encourage women athletes in their quest to participate in the sport and positive discourses were articulated about women's participation. Issues were addressed that the authors understood to relate to women and specifically women athletes. These included information on; "injury prevention and flexibility; training during pregnancy; low bone density in female [athletes]; and a beginner's guide" (NGB B, 1998a, p. 3). The *Handbook for Women* (NGB B, 1998a) was thus a useful marketing tool intended to specifically attract women to the sport, and was concerned with women's requirements to participate in the sport and its administration.

Nevertheless, the particular language that was used to articulate these ideas in NGB B frequently portrayed women as second rate athletes, who were not to be taken too seriously. For example, the introduction to the section on equipment maintenance stated; "let me say before I get going that my brief for this gentle glide through the Wonderland that is [equipment] maintenance, was to make it appealing and above all, easy" (NGB B, 1998a, p. 7). When reminding individuals to clean their equipment before it was serviced, the author suggested; "you will not get top marks if [your repair worker] has to scrape a season's worth of ...

Powerbar remains and Revlon¹¹ foundation [off the equipment]" (NGB B, 1998a, p. 8). In addition to this somewhat patronising language, exclusive discourses were also expressed. This was most evident in the use of the word 'man', which was used as a suffix to race titles, to illustrate their length of endurance. This organisational practice, while serving to possibly deter some women, may have been equally off-putting for men who were novices in the sport.

In NGB B, the language used within the *Handbook for Women* (NGB B, 1998a) was derogatory and demeaning to women's involvement. In order to understand why these discourses were evident, it is, according to Foucault (1979) important to ask; "what were the most immediate, the most local power relations at work?" (p. 97). The 'most immediate' power relationship was the use of language, which expressed the opinion that women's knowledge about sport was 'simple'. The use of such language has been analysed as a powerful tool to indicate that men's sport is socially constructed as 'real sport' and women's is 'other', secondary, or not 'real sport' (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). The expression of such discourses through a specific use of language served to undermine women's involvement in NGB B. By targeting the book specifically at women, novice men's involvement may also have been marginalised within NGB B, expressing an assumption that men would 'automatically' be knowledgeable about the sport.

Within the *Handbook for Women* (NGB B, 1998a) sexuality was also considered to be central to NGB B's marketing to women for it was assumed that 'Revlon' cosmetics were central to training (NGB B, 1998a). This suggested that in order to be a 'real woman' athlete, women would have to present their sexuality through heterosexuality, 'prettiness', and youth. It may have been that this was articulated in order to indicate that women do not have to be 'masculine' in order to compete. McDonald (2000) has, however, expressed the view that, rather than empowering women, such expressions of sexuality merely add to the popular thought that; "women can 'have it all', presumably due to the numerous opportunities now available for women to be both sexy and powerful" (McDonald, 2000, p. 37). In NGB B, women may be understood to 'have it all', that is be athletic and 'feminine', within the *Women's Handbook*. As McDonald (2000) implied, this was limited by the parameters of acceptable sexuality, which were identified through cosmetics and simplicity, influenced by male dominated views of women. Women's influence within NGB B, despite the organisation's commitment to equity, was thus established through societal knowledge about 'acceptable' sexuality and 'simple' knowledge.

Despite NGB B's historical pursuit of equity, discriminatory discourses were therefore evident within the organisation's literature, indicating the fluctuating nature of power and the susceptibility of local resistance to dominant, societal discourses (Foucault, 1984b). In order to

¹¹ Powerbar is a brand name of an energy food for athletes. Revlon is a brand of cosmetics

analyse why this might be, in an ostensibly equitable environment, it is necessary to examine the local level creation of power in NGB B. For, as Foucault (1979) has suggested; “power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian ... relations” (p. 94) It is an examination of this interplay of power relations that enables some understanding of the complexities of the creation of gender relations in NGB B. One such expression of power was articulated through the acknowledgement of cosmetics within the *Handbook for Women* (NGB B, 1998a). While this choice of words may have been intended to illustrate that women can fit within ‘societal norms’ of ‘femininity’ and participate in this endurance sport, it also suggested that a certain, feminine appearance was required by women participants. Equally, the use of ‘easy’ language may have been utilised to attract novices to the sport. Powerful, mainstream societal assumptions were therefore expressed through discourses, which were employed to encourage women to join the organisation. As indicated by Foucault (1979), these were nonegalitarian, assuming that women would be interested in feminine discourses, which are undervalued within mainstream sport. Paradoxically, therefore, by trying to attract women into the organisation through the expression of feminine discourses, decision-makers in the organisation may have deterred them by associating women with a lack of power. This may have been compounded by NGB B’s apparently deliberate attempt to marginalise novice men. In the ‘interplay of power relations’ (Foucault, 1979) it was therefore dominant societal views of women as feminine rather than as sportswomen, and men as ‘naturally’ competent which were prevalent. The articulation and formalisation of such discourses within organisational literature served to illustrate the interplay of power relations in NGB B and challenge the frequent attempts at equity that were intrinsic within the organisation.

The marketing of NGB C was carefully managed in keeping with concern not to favour one sex over the other. The cover of the 1998/99 Handbook sported a collage of pictures that comprised two of women, one of men and one of a mixed sex crowd scene (NGB C, 1998a). This careful representation of the ‘new’ organisation ensured equal representation of gender. Yet, within other marketing tactics more specific, stereotypical expressions of masculine and feminine discourses were observed. These were particularly evident in a promotional campaign that was organised in conjunction with a High Street retailer. It featured young players in the women’s international squad who were dressed in formal and casual clothing. This was a carefully constructed move to distance women who participated in the sport from traditional ‘manly’ images (Research Diary May, 1998). One picture which featured largely in the resulting press mêlée was of a young female athlete in a short black dress with the caption “8.30 at my place” (Express, 1998, p. 33). While the constraints of space mean that it is not possible to describe all of the other advertisements of NGB C, it is worth considering some. Other promotional posters featured a female athlete sitting on the floor, leaning forward to show off

her cleavage. Another featured an athlete lying on her back in a submissive pose. In contrast, the male athletes did not feature in the nationally published campaign.

The use of sexuality was also used within NGB C to market female athletes through the poster campaign with women in submissive poses. The campaign served to portray women's roles as a combination of 'athletes' and 'sex objects'. McDonald (2000) has suggested that women are encouraged to 'sell' their sport with the 'added value' of including images that suggest (hetero)sexual innuendo. The discourses that were expressed by the publicity in NGB C's campaign certainly moved away from the 'stuffy' image that the Marketing Director had identified as 'old fashioned' (Research diary, 5 March, 1999). Yet, it also presented a young woman athlete as submissive, as she was clearly being required to use her sexuality to sell the sport and she thus became an 'athlete/model' as opposed to an athlete. Lenskyj (1998) has argued that through such pictorial representations, women are understood as submissive, sexual objects. This expression of women served to reinforce men's power over them and; "becomes a restatement of men's sexual power" (Lenskyj, 1998, p. 26). Through such advertising, knowledge about women's submissive sexuality was created in NGB C and, as power is coterminous with knowledge (Foucault, 1979), women's influence was equally submissive. Thus, the pictorial representations of women in NGB C reinforced their lack of power within the creation of gender relations. Given NGB C's attempts to integrate equity within the newly merged organisation, such an expression of women's sexuality is of concern. The women's Association had, for many years, sought to lose the 'manly' image, with which it had historically been associated. The women in the advertising campaign, far from feeling exploited, may therefore have genuinely felt that they were aiding the organisation and would be unlikely to express resistance. It may also have been the case that they had themselves been previously labelled as 'manly', in which case, they may have wanted to fit in with societal norms about women's presentation and thus appear 'feminine'. From one perspective, this campaign may have promoted women in a positive light but, as McDonald (2000) has argued, it did so by reinforcing socially created parameters of the acceptability of women, thus reducing their opportunities to challenge gender relations.

The representation of boys and men within all three organisations reinforced their masculine characteristics, in keeping with the stereotypical views of gender that were identified above. In NGB A, this was achieved through pictures of athletes in competition. In NGB B, the endurance races suffixed by 'man' had associations with men's, rather than women's, participation. The men in NGB C were not required to use sexual images to sell their sport. By disassociation with the marketing campaign in the national press, men were thus expressed as 'athletes' not 'athlete/models'. The social knowledge that was associated with men in the marketing literature of each of the NGBs was therefore intrinsically linked to powerful, masculine discourses of competition, toughness, and victory (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998).

Therefore, the expression of organisational views in the marketing literature favoured most men's influence in the creation of gender power relations. It is possible, however, that the expressions of masculine discourses served to marginalise some men who did not fit into the parameters of masculinity. McDonald's (2000) argument illustrates the constraints that are placed on women but it may also be used to show the socially acceptable limits of men's self-expression. By utilising only very specific, arguably stereotyped, images of women and men, the NGBs therefore presented a limited view of gender relations through the expression of masculinity and femininity within their marketing literature. This may have limited the numbers of men and women to whom it would appeal.

Informal creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities

The analysis of informally expressed masculine and feminine discourses contributed to the examination of power in gender relations. The data in this analysis substantiated the categories that were presented in the previous section and enabled comparison and contrast with the formal data. The data were coded into two categories. The first of these was the association of employment roles with masculine and feminine discourses. The second category examined the perceptions of athletes' abilities with relation to masculine and feminine discourses.

Association of employment roles with masculine and feminine discourses

A number of employment roles were associated with masculine and feminine discourses. For clarity and ease of analysis, the roles that were most clearly identified have been sub-categorised into the professional roles of Development Officers and senior management roles, and the voluntary and semi-professional roles of coaches and teachers.

Development Officers

The communication and organisation skills that were considered to be necessary for the job of Regional Development Officer (RDO) were associated, by the respondents, with women. One senior Development Officer in NGB A highlighted this by saying; "certainly the people we interviewed [for RDO jobs], the females come across better, I don't know whether that's because they come across well prepared or well organised for those roles." Another senior Development Officer from NGB A suggested; "I think people see [the job] as when I came from Devon, that all SDOs [Sports Development Officers] down there are women. They saw it as an organising role and they stereotyped that to women. They thought that women are better at those kind of roles and communication." Another respondent suggested that; "there is a perception that going out and meeting people, that females are a friendly face ... and ... they are perceived as less threatening. Certainly, whenever we have an issue, when we're talking to clubs [and] a lot of them are up in arms about whatever it is, in some respect female RDOs are better equipped to negotiate with a softly, softly approach." A senior manager from NGB C reinforced the attitude that women's perceived ability to be organised was vital; "they have a

wide range of remits and they have a massive amount of work, maybe with females, they are well organised, they can cope with the work better.” Another male respondent highlighted the need for; “a lot of communication skills ... the main thing is communication.” A perception of women’s ‘softer’, loyal, feminine view was also expressed. A senior Development Officer from NGB A suggested that; “a few of them [RDOs] are [athletes] and so want to get involved, maybe the allegiance and the familiarity with the governing body is intrinsic and that outweighs some of the disadvantages and weaknesses. And they are more willing to put up with that than the men.”

In contrast to this, men were not considered by respondents to be interested in the ‘soft’ skills that were necessary for communication and development. A senior RDO from NGB A suggested that; “men are more clinical with their thinking and emotion doesn’t come into the decision making process and with women it’s more like, well, I want to work with [the organisation]. Whereas, if a man thinks it’s not going to get them to the right places before they go in, they won’t take that step to pursue it.” Another respondent reinforced this by stating; “maybe men think it’s a bit of a wimpy job and they want to be at the sharp end of it. Whereas in this job you don’t [get the sharp end], it’s a bit woolly.” The perceived lack of interest shown by men in the job of Development Officer was of some concern to the respondents. One respondent from NGB A said that; “I think there’s a danger of Development Officer jobs as being seen as jobs for women. And not jobs for men.” Another female Development Officer suggested that; “no man would go for a job that was that much work for that much money.” This view was reinforced by concerns over the longevity of the job. A female development officer suggested that; “some of [the issue] is salary scales and there isn’t progression, so that when the initial salary might be attractive, the steps above that are slow, very slow. And I could see some men looking at that and saying, well, OK, that would be OK if I was coming in straight from university but where am I going in five years time. I think there is a danger of that particular post because it could be perceived as a woman’s job, not as a man’s job.” In comparison, it was assumed by RDOs that the instability of the job made it suitable for a woman who was likely to leave and have a family. A Senior Manager suggested that; “they do the job for 4 or 5 years, start a family and then come back to something later on, there are still a lot [of women] who think like that.”

Those in RDO roles were therefore perceived to have a ‘softly, softly’ approach, were able to ‘communicate and organise’, and were understood to be in the development roles largely as a result of ‘loyalty’ to their organisations. Kerfoot and Knights (1998) have suggested that discourses such as ‘caring’, ‘communication’, and ‘loyalty’ may be understood as feminine and are associated with ‘women’s work’. Martin (1996) has analysed this portrayal of certain feminine characteristics as the “emphasized femininity” that is required of women in organisations. It has been suggested that; “emotionality and chaos depict the feminine.”

(Putnam & Mumby, 1993, p. 40). It is hardly surprising that such emotions are; “linked to a negative, feminine worldview” within organisations” (ibid. p. 40). In the NGBs, therefore, the association of stereotypical views of women with RDO work served to undermine their potential input into the organisation. The marginalisation of women was further reinforced by the organisational assumptions that they would leave work to have a family. As indicated in Chapter 5, this was a historical view, which had permeated into the modern organisation, corroborating Collinson et al.’s (1990) analysis of organisational perceptions of women as ‘unstable’. In contrast, as men were less likely to leave work for childcare, they were perceived as stable and thus able to sustain, and remain in, a job. Organisational knowledge was therefore created, across the organisations, that RDO jobs were normalised as women’s work, dependent on emphasised femininity and low in organisational value.

In contrast, it was assumed that men would not become RDOs. The job was ‘too wimpy’ or ‘woolly’ for men who were perceived to embody rational masculinities, which as Putnam and Mumby (1993) have argued; “evokes a positive image” (p. 40) in organisations. In a Foucauldian (1972) analysis of power, it is argued that the reiteration of such knowledge discourses ensures that they become organisational ‘truths’. In time, these truths become reified within the organisations (Jermier, 1991). Calás and Smircich (1992b) have argued that this process is often gendered, normalising women as uninfluential, and men as influential, within organisations. The assumption that men would not demean themselves by applying for such jobs in the NGBs indicated the view that they would hold influential jobs. This indicated that a narrow view of men was developed in the NGBs in which they were understood to be masculine, ‘rational’, and ‘clinical’ thinkers. The possible exclusion of men who might have wanted to pursue a RDO job was not identified by the respondents, thus indicating that the potential for men to have a ‘softly, softly’ approach was not entertained within the organisations.

By articulating the realisation that men would not be attracted to such lowly positions, however, RDOs expressed some realisation of the weakness of the job structure within the organisations. The RDOs realised, therefore, that the jobs were menial and underpaid. The articulation of resistance that was expressed in such awareness in the NGBs was, as Foucault (1979) has argued, indicative of the relational nature of power. Due to the lack of influence associated with RDO roles, however, there were no evident avenues for this resistance to be expressed, either by women who felt undermined, or by men who wanted to contribute to the organisation through the RDO roles. The lack of implementation of resistance contributed to the suggestion, made by McNay (1992), that Foucault’s (1980) analysis of micro resistance to powerful discourses may be over optimistic about the ability of people to develop discourses of resistance. By turning to Foucault’s (1984b) slightly later examination of power it is, however, possible to speculate on why resistance was not channelled into formal action and change. For,

by the time of *What is Enlightenment?* (Foucault, 1984b), there was more awareness in Foucault's writing about the effects of 'reality' on the pursuit of resistance. The 'reality' for the RDOs may have been that, coming from voluntary jobs, most women were not used to expecting a formal career structure through which they might pursue change. It was also the case that many RDOs were young, newly qualified, graduates. As their first 'real', paid, contracted job, it is possible that they were unwilling to question their employers, thus indicating a hierarchical power relation. Equally, their employers may have resisted any such challenges in order to protect their own influence and expressed this by repeatedly employing women in RDO roles. This further undermined the influence of RDOs and femininity within the organisations and underpinned women's input into gender relations.

Senior management roles

Senior managers in each of the organisations were associated with influential, masculine discourses that contrasted sharply to those embodied in the RDOs' roles. In NGB C, the requirement for the Chief Executive was, according to a senior manager; "a businessman with sport sensitivity ... It's not surprising that you'll get 70-80% of the applicants [who] are male because that's the way the world is at the moment." In NGB A, a suggestion was made that, once masculine values were in place, the organisation became more professional. The Chief Executive stated;

when I came here there was a decided shortage of men ... there might have been a perception of the committee seeing this office as the servants of the committee and hence looking on the staff here as, can I use the word 'a bunch of secretaries'... the role here was reactive rather than proactive. And once we established the fact that we had a Chief Executive and behind that Chief Executive we needed a strong professional team I think that in itself lent us to look for quality people.

Not all Executive and Director roles were totally dominated by men. There were two women senior managers in NGB A. They were, according to the Chief Executive; "two very capable ladies but both of them came under extreme pressure at interview." Such pressure was intended to ensure that they did not show 'typical', 'weak' feminine attributes. As the Chief Executive said; "we're not going to have a token woman, we are not going to get into that." The appointment of a senior volunteer, the GB team manager, was therefore dependent on her masculine credentials. Her appointment was possible because, according to a senior Development Officer; "women at that age and level are doing other things with families...she's forty and not in any relationship, so she's free to do [the job]." Some resistance was, however, expressed to the stereotyping of successful women as aggressive. A female senior manager in NGB B stated that;

one thing I find is that a strong woman is vastly unpopular compared to a strong man, she's a bitch, he's a strong man. It's grossly unfair really, and awful. I'm past caring now, I've been in senior management for a long time and I can't be bothered. A man is direct

and you are a bitch. If you're brusque and direct as a female then you're a bad tempered cow!

The discourses that were evident within the analysis of senior manager roles may be understood as masculine. The reinforcement of influential masculine discourses was facilitated through the desire to have 'business leaders' and 'business men' to run the organisations. It was required that these 'businessmen' could lead the organisations into the professional era that has been characterised by competition for funding. It was also assumed that these people would be men, thus reinforcing traditional views of men as leaders and marginalising both women and men who did not embrace leadership discourses. This was consistent with Kerfoot and Whitehead's (1998) assertion that, in order to be in influential positions, individuals have to express masculinities. Following Foucault's (1979) argument, the knowledge that business 'men' were clearly required for leadership roles was clearly linked to the development of specific men's power within the organisations. In turn, the association of particular masculinities with leadership ensured that they became more powerful in the construction of gender relations. In this process, feminine discourses were further marginalised, and their absence in most senior managerial posts normalised some women's lack of value in the organisation and in the creation of gender relations. A relative absence of women was linked to the exclusion of feminine discourses. This embodied the views that Martin (1996) proposed when she stated that; "the discourse and actions of some men ... suggest that they framed women as lacking legitimacy to hold powerful positions" (p. 201). This may have been due to the traditional 'ownership' of such roles by men. As previously discussed, this was hard to challenge and it was therefore highly unlikely that women would break into the senior management of the organisations in large numbers.

Despite this, some women were able to gain organisational influence within the NGBs. They most often did this by expressing masculinities. The women in NGB A who were identified as being 'capable' at their jobs were described through the "kick ass" (Martin, 1996, p. 191) style of management rather than "emphasized femininity" (ibid, 1996, p. 191) that in many organisations, is associated with women's managerial practices. The expression of masculine discourses by women presented an enigma. It could be claimed that these women further reinforced the influence and dominance of certain masculinities for, as Martin (1996) suggested, they had to express such discourses in order to succeed. In so doing (and in order to further their careers), they further undermined feminine (caring, considerate) styles of management. The influential women might, therefore, be understood to diminish feminine discourses and thus demean women within the creation of gender relations. In contrast, it could be argued that influential women challenged men's virtual monopoly on masculinities. In that case, they might be understood as resistant to dominant discourses within NGB A and

challenging gender relations. It is not entirely clear which was the case within the organisations in this research. What is evident is that their actions did challenge some of the 'boys own' nature of management in NGB A. Foucault (1984b) has suggested that by carrying out such actions, individuals; "search ... into the events that constitute [themselves] and recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, saying" (p. 46) By attempting to take control of their situation in the organisation and rejecting feminine discourses, the women were therefore aware of, and determined to challenge, the discriminatory discourses through which their organisational lives were 'constituted'. They 'recognized' that by what they said, thought, and did, they could resist the normal discourses by which women occupied lowly positions within the organisations.

The successful women were, however, often marginalised by their male colleagues. The team manager for NGB A expressed characteristics that were considered by men in the organisation to be masculine. She did not have commitments to children or a family and this was understood to contribute to her ability to fulfil her role within the organisation. This role was, however, interpreted by the respondent as 'abnormal', for it was suggested that any 'normal' woman with family and children would have been unable to take on such a job. In addition to this, the NGB B respondent who claimed that a 'man is direct and a woman is a bitch' reinforced the view that strong women were perceived by men to be 'non-women'. As these women's characteristics were viewed through men's versions of 'acceptable femininity', their behaviour was questioned by their male colleagues. This view of the organisation through masculine discourses, in which women are marginalised, has been identified by Calás and Smircich (1992b). The women in influential roles were effectively forced to; "acknowledge [their] violation of norms associated with 'emphasized femininity' and their status as woman" (Martin, 1996, p. 191). Therefore, although access to masculine knowledge may increase some women's power, this is only within society's 'acceptable' parameters of what it is to 'be a woman' (Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998). Once a woman became competitive in the NGBs, as discussed in the analysis of formal data, she was understood to no longer be a 'real woman'. Furthermore, in order for women to succeed in many organisations, they have to work as hard, if not harder than their male colleagues and may have family duties as well (Martin, 1996). If this was the case, then they would have had little time to develop resistance to discourses that were well over 100 years old. The dominance of male views about women in management was therefore able to pervade the organisations and further devalue women's input into gender relations.

Coaches and teachers

The distinction in the roles of teachers and coaches was simple. Teachers were responsible within the organisations for the early development of athletes, providing them with

the necessary skills and rules to participate and compete. The role of the coach was to develop young or novice athletes, developing technique and a 'competitive edge'. The influence of coaches was significant, as they affected athletes during their 'most productive years', i.e. when they might be winning national and international medals. In this research, the majority of coaches, who associated with elite level participation, were male and most teachers, who contributed to participation level, were female. As one respondent said; "it's odd, because the teaching side is actually where it tends to be women." A NGB C development officer said; "you often find that women are teachers and men are coaches." Not only did men tend to dominate coaching, this role was identified with masculine discourses. Teaching, in contrast, was associated with femininities. A respondent from NGB A said;

men are not natural teachers, our role as women is to nurture and to teach ... maybe it's men are less emotionally involved and are therefore able to command hard work ... women have emotions and men tend to come above their emotions, don't they... in the role of a coach, you can write a schedule and hand it to someone else ... a teacher's role is very much hands on and you need to be there.

In comparison, discussions about coaching embodied masculine discourses. In NGB C, it was stated that; "men are more interested in the competitive element of the sport." Another respondent from NGB C reinforced this view by suggesting that; "I think [men] prefer to be involved in the coaching side, I wouldn't say [that this is] an ego thing, but the inclination is more on the competitive side." This assumption about competitive, hard, masculine views was reinforced by the selection of coaches. In NGB A, the Chief Executive said; "we don't pick coaches by saying 'whose turn is it next', we pick them by objectivity, who gets a kid on a team that gets medals."

Areas in which gentle, feminine styles of teaching had historically been favoured were identified as becoming successful and therefore attractive to coaches who expressed masculine, competitive discourses. For example, in NGB A, sport for athletes with disabilities had recently become associated with masculinities. The Chief Executive said;

disabled sport, has been dominated by women teachers. A disabled's suddenly found that they've won a gold medal in the 'one legged whatever'. Now what is happening is that's gaining elite credibility, so you're seeing male coaches seeing that as a perfectly legitimate, exciting career route, so you're seeing it swing that way

Not only were specific, dominant masculinities valued within coaching, those individuals, male or female, who expressed femininities were excluded. For example, any coach who had a family faced difficulties in pursuing a coaching role. As one respondent remarked; "I think there are a number of lifestyle issues. Once you get someone at coach level, they are working in a reasonably high level which demands a lot of time, particularly in terms of morning and evening. If there's a family situation, there may be demands on the woman which may well mitigate against them to that degree." Such issues were not assumed to be a problem

for men. In addition to this, the association of the naturalness' of women with teaching was made. One respondent suggested that teaching; "occurs during the day in school hours and it fits into the lifestyle of someone with children." There were few challenges to this issue of time as an exclusionary factor, as a male respondent defended coaching times as 'natural'; "athletes *have* to train at those times, I can't change their body clock, they are ideal times. I can't fit in with a woman's needs to suit the athlete, the athlete is there and the coach has to fit with those needs."

There was some resistance to the notion that the job of coach as one which only men could have. This was expressed by the two women coaches in the research. One coach said; "this is one of the things that I've found coming from a coaching background, which a lot of men are in, is clear cut, you're either successful or not ...you can measure it." Another female respondent felt that her experiences were positive as a high level coach; "I was the first female coach on the national team. I think that it was because I was producing athletes. I didn't find and I have not found in my career to date that being a female is a stumbling block in any way. It was looking with respect to the quality of work that I did." Not all high level women coaches found the experience positive, as they; 'did not have the technical ability of men, that they were perhaps five to ten years behind the men' (Research diary notes).

The roles of coaching and teaching were rife with conflicting masculine and feminine discourses. Teaching was clearly a role that was associated within all of the organisations with discourses of femininities and the caring, nurturing values that are embedded within them. As Kerfoot and Knights (1998) have suggested, such discourses are linked to women and are not influential in organisations. Furthermore, had any men decided to become teachers, they would probably have been ridiculed, suggesting that men were not linked to 'caring' discourses within the organisations. In contrast, coaches were associated with tough, competitive, masculine discourses, which were designed to win medals and bring glory to England. As Gilroy and Clarke (1997) have argued, international 'glory' is central to a sport's success and increased funding from Sport England. Therefore, coaches were clearly understood to be more valuable within the NGBs for they were assumed to have the potential to make athletes win medals. In the case of the NGBs, this equated to masculine discourses in coaching being interpreted as more valuable than feminine teaching discourses. Once again, this indicated that specific knowledge, which was associated with femininities, was less powerful than that associated with masculinities.

While this illustrates Foucault's (1979) argument that knowledge and power are inseparable, it is highly problematic for there appeared to be few challenges to these views within the NGBs. It is probable that resistance was not expressed because these discourses were accepted and reinforced by women and men. Women may, justifiably, have been proud of teaching abilities and thus not felt the need to challenge men's dominance in coaching. They

may have felt that the feminine discourses by which they constituted their existence (Foucault, 1984b) were unproblematic. Rather than viewing men's involvement in coaching as somehow glorious, women may have believed that their own contribution was just as important and they did not choose to challenge those discourses, which Foucault (1984b) suggested is the right of any individual. Despite women's acceptance of their teaching roles, discrimination occurred within the NGBs because the organisations clearly did not value teaching as highly as coaching. Women's involvement within the NGBs was therefore further undermined. If the teachers decide that they want to resist this, then such challenges must come through their own local knowledge (Foucault, 1984b).

The lack of value that was accorded to teachers was reinforced by the comments made about disabled athletes. Not only did the Chief Executive express a somewhat cavalier attitude towards athletes with disabilities through his choice of language, he articulated the practice that coaches had only recently perceived that athletes with disabilities were 'legitimate'. Historically, athletes with disabilities were viewed as needing more teaching and nurturing than competition. Teaching was considered to be 'good enough' for them. Once the athletes started winning medals and featuring on television, such as in the recent extensive Paralympics 2000 coverage in the UK, their coaching needs became a 'legitimate' occupation. The association of the relative power of masculinities embedded within coaching, medals, elite participation, and legitimisation was evident, compared to less influential feminine discourses that were embedded within teaching, which was thus 'illegitimate'. Calás and Smircich (1992b) argued that as many organisations are viewed through masculine discourses, legitimacy is only evident if masculine work practices are expressed, and this was clearly the case in NGB A. Furthermore, these organisational practices replicated many of the experiences of women coaches within the USA after Title IX, who found that their legitimacy was threatened as men took over college coaching programmes (Boutilier & San Giovanni, 1994). As such, the discourses that were associated with men's coaching abilities within the organisations were valued more than those linked to women, thus certain men's influence was developed at the expense of teachers. Foucault (1979) has argued that power is created with a "series of aims and objectives" (p. 95). In this case the objectives of some male coaches, i.e. to gain power within the organisation, were fulfilled by the increasing profile of sport for people with disabilities. These coaches were able to develop their own power by appropriating such roles and conversely reduce women's influence by reiterating teaching's perceived 'illegitimacy' in the organisation.

Some women resisted this and coached to an international level. By using Foucault's (1984b) analysis of resistance, it is possible to suggest that these women had developed their local knowledge of the organisations and, given the constraints of the organisations, they have; "determine[d] the precise form this change should take" (p. 46). Yet, within this resistance, as with their senior colleagues in senior management they had to cope with being labelled

'unnatural' by their male peers. According to male respondents, it was unnatural for women not to have family, yet freedom from 'family ties' was identified as crucial to coaching. There may have been a number of reasons for this. From a Foucauldian (1972) perspective, it could be argued that influential individuals, most often men, were trying to protect the discourses that made them powerful. While this may have some credibility, it is just as likely that some male coaches were ignorant of the multiple roles and abilities that women are able to cope with and fulfil, thus they were unaware that women can coach. From a later Foucauldian (1984b) approach it may be suggested that some influential men within the organisations were unaware of the contributions and abilities of women over the organisations' histories. Those men who opposed women coaches were therefore unable to see how women's involvement could produce positive, dynamic input into the organisations' futures. As Calás and Smircich (1992b) have argued, when a predominantly male view of the organisation is taken, women's views may be marginalised. It is possible that the ignorant view of some male coaches was the result of many years' perceptions of women in teaching roles. As such a narrow view of knowledge was recreated, it became powerful, as a Foucauldian (1979) analysis of power would suggest. It thus undermined women's influence in coaching roles and thus in the creation of gender relations.

The association of certain roles with masculine and feminine discourses contributed to the creation of gender relations within the NGBs. Employment roles that were associated with women, such as teachers and RDOs were linked to emotional, irrational, chaotic discourses (Putnam & Mumby, 1993). In contrast, men were largely associated with leadership, rationality, and clarity of thought. Some resistance was evident to this as individuals acknowledged constraints that such stereotypes placed on women within the creation of gender relations. These challenges to organisational discourses were frequently the result of individuals' local knowledge about the creation of such views and a willingness to challenge them (Foucault, 1984b). In other areas, particularly teaching, such actions were rare, possibly because the women involved were quite proud of their achievements and saw resistance as unnecessary. For organisational discourses to value teachers as fully as coaches, however, it may be necessary to develop some form of resistance to the demeaning assumptions that are associated with teachers. In order to complete the analysis in this chapter, I now turn to the examination of organisational discourses on athletes' abilities.

Perceptions on athletes' abilities

The final section in this chapter addresses individuals' articulation of masculine and feminine discourses with relation to athletes' abilities. During a conversation about the high attrition rate of young women athletes, one respondent from NGB A stated that; "I think girls go through [pause] an interesting development when they are 16 or 17. I think that many girls ... they're not necessarily prepared to make that commitment to 5 or 6 days training." Another respondent from NGB A suggested that the high dropout rate was due to; "the issue of some

girls saying 'well, I'm not really into 'sport' anymore' and I think that's a general thing ... because sometimes [with] girls from 14 upwards it is 'I don't want to be sweaty', 'I don't want to be seen to be running around a lot' and stuff like that." Another view was presented by a NGB A National Development Officer. His role was to develop a sport which has more perceived danger than its 'parent' sport. He noted that; "[our sport] is slightly different because with [my sport] you have to learn more tricks. So you've got barriers of fear to overcome as much as the speed or style. Girls tend to come across those fear barriers [and so drop out]." Despite the high attrition rates of girls in the sports in this research and nation-wide (DCMS, 2000) no attempt or suggestion was made that the organisation might attempt to ask girls why they drop out or change their policies or coaching techniques to keep those athletes within the sport. As some individuals in NGB B had discovered, one way to resist the attrition of girls was to challenge discriminatory views about their abilities. As one respondent observed;

our top women will be in the top 10 most races. I do a lot of running and a lot of guys come down the field and as long as they beat the first women, they're OK but if they [think] that in [this sport] they're going to have their ass kicked. So in terms of accepting women in the sport ... if you don't like it go back to running or boxing!

Attrition was also perceived to have been prevented by encouraging women and girls to feel that they can ask for help; "they [women] feel intimidated by the men but all they have to do, instead of keeping their mouths shut is say... 'hey guys, I can't run as fast as you, give us a hand' and the next thing you know you've got half a dozen fellas waiting or they do their thing and then come and help you." Resistance to men as 'macho' in this sport was at times expressed through humour at men's abilities. This occurred at all levels, as, during an elite event in July 1999, the announcer stated that; "[the top woman] was first in the women's event but would have been second in the men's. We'll not keep that a secret, guys." These examples show that within NGB B, there was some acknowledgement that men were supportive to women's achievements at any level. However, the Acting Chief Executive Officer expressed contrary discourses. When talking about the abilities of the President he said; "she's a Professor at Geneva University, a top athlete, she's very tall [he then leaned forward to me, intently] but is she pretty?"

Contrasting discourses were expressed within respondents' perceptions about athletes' abilities. Some respondents from NGB A viewed those who expressed interests in activities other than the sport as 'uncommitted' and thus disinterested in the sport. Girls were associated with fears of 'getting sweaty' and not 'looking good' when they had finished physical activity. The discourses that were used to describe the girls reinforced Duncan and Hasbrook's (1988) assertion that girls in sport are often encouraged to be; "glamorous, graceful, and unsweaty" (p. 2). More recently, McDonald (2000) has argued that women have more freedom to indulge in 'sweaty' sports but only within the parameters of dominant, masculine discourses, which are

restrictive to women's and girls' enjoyment. There was, therefore, little attempt within NGB A to address the societal constructs that have created the 'proper' ways in which girls may enjoy sport. Without addressing these discourses, it is impossible to; "seek new impetus" (Foucault, 1984b, p. 46) and promote alternative ways of encouraging women's and girls' participation within the organisation. As such, gender relations may stagnate due to misinformed assumptions about women's and girls' abilities. In order to develop change, it is necessary for NGB A to challenge the creation of these assumptions about participation and thus realise the locally created power relations by which women and girls are deemed unable to contribute to the organisation (Foucault, 1984b).

The discourses that were expressed in NGB B demonstrated both support and resistance to the historically equitable nature of the organisation. For some respondents, women's abilities were understood to be as good, if not better, than men's efforts. The construction of such knowledge about women was linked to their increased influence within gender relations in the organisation. This illustrated how women can influence Foucault's (1979, 1984b) power/knowledge relationship. Women and some men were, therefore, able to critique historical discourses (Foucault, 1984b) in NGB B and thus suggest alternatives for the organisation. These had undermined the value and abilities of women's participation in sport. This was, however, articulated in the form of a comparison of women and men, for example the woman athlete who 'would have come second in the men's race'. Knowledge about women's achievements was therefore only legitimate in relation to men's. Although some women may perceive such a comparison to be a challenge, it has been criticised in the sport sociology literature as it assumes that men's achievements are central to the organisation and that women's achievements are compared less impressive because they are compared to men (Theberge, 1994). As Theberge (1994) suggested, however, such practices are reified in many sport organisations and are thus hard to challenge. There is no reason why they should not be challenged, however, for, following Foucault's (1979) argument; "points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network" (p. 95). It is possible that, as long as individuals are aware of such biased practices and wish to change them, that the development of local knowledge about these discourses' historical development should lead to resistance and future change (Foucault, 1984b).

Athletes' abilities were largely described in terms of a comparison between women and men. Men, unsurprisingly, were identified as stronger, braver, and quicker than women. Women's abilities once again seemed to be undermined. These stereotypes undermined individuals from each sex, ignoring novice men and elite women. Although resistance was evident to this practice it was expressed in terms of comparison to men's abilities. Men's centrality within the organisations was thus reinforced. In order for this to change, it will be necessary for individuals to address whether or not they want to challenge these organisationally

accepted discourses, and if so, develop alternatives through understanding how discriminatory discourses, which unfairly compare women and men, have been developed.

Concluding comments

Within this chapter, the influence of gender roles, masculine and feminine discourses were analysed and led to further understanding of the creation of gender relations within the NGBs. As Kerfoot and Knights (1998) suggested, masculinities were largely influential in the organisations and were associated with competition, leadership, and business acumen. These were often, but not exclusively, expressed by men. Women who expressed masculinities were understood by organisational members to be 'non-women' for they were perceived to be 'tough' and unnatural if they did not have families. In contrast, when men articulated masculinities, it was considered to be a pinnacle of achievement. Femininities, which were clearly embodied in RDO roles, were undervalued. These were articulated most often by women, but also by men. Very little influential knowledge was attributed to feminine discourses (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998), thus they were not powerful in the creation of gender relations. Although knowledge is linked to power (Foucault, 1979), it is only very specific, usually masculine, knowledge and ways of articulating it that can be influential in organisations (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998; Martin, 1996). Some resistance was expressed to the social construction of gender relations, which was developed within NGB B. This indicated that in NGB B, some individuals were willing to critique the prevalent societal discourses in which women's achievements in sport are largely undervalued and create alternative views (Foucault, 1984b). In NGBs A and C, there was less evidence of this, suggesting perhaps that the 'reality' (Foucault, 1984b) of women's experiences in organisations, dominated by male discourses, made change difficult. In the following chapter, I pursue the analysis of gender relations and the applicability of Foucault's theories further, as I examine the creation and implementation of gender equity policies.

Chapter seven: Creation and implementation of gender equity policies

In this chapter, I address the third of the four organisational practices that were identified in Chapter 2, that is, the influence of the creation and implementation of gender equity policies on gender relations. The influence of the English Sports Council on the creation of gender equity policies is analysed, along with the creation and implementation of such policies by the NGBs. The analysis of the English Sports Council's requirements and the NGBs' formal and informal reactions to this enables the analysis of macro, or policy level attempts to influence gender relations and the micro, or individual level responses to this initiative.

Formal expressions of the creation and implementation of gender equity policies

The data for the analysis of formally expressed discourses were gathered from the English Sports Council's guidelines on gender equity policies and the NGBs' equity policy documents. Within the formally expressed data, two categories were developed. These comprised the influence of the English Sports Council on the creation and implementation of gender equity policies; and the NGBs' reaction to *England the sporting nation: a strategy* (English Sports Council, 1997a). The data are presented as a whole for each section and are then analysed.

The influence of Sport England on the creation and implementation of equity policies

The English Sports Council was the NGBs' main source of funding and it was therefore essential that the NGBs fulfilled their requirements. At the time of the research, these criteria were communicated through one particular document, *England, the sporting nation: a strategy* (English Sports Council, 1997a). Within this document, a general 'vision' of equity was expressed. It was claimed that; "everyone deserves the right to enjoy sport and recreation at whatever level of involvement or ability" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 3). It was proposed that; "sport can overcome inequities and break down barriers but must itself be equitable and fair" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 6). It was, furthermore, claimed in the document that; "the primary purpose of the strategy is to benefit all sports people ... we must reassure everyone that they belong in sport's future" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 7). Such equity had to be, according to the English Sports Council, the responsibility of managers. It was suggested that in the document that; "equally, attitudes and perceptions – of administrators and officials, facility managers, coaches, teachers and parents, and the media, should be supportive and welcoming" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 6). Further examples of the potentially inclusive, equitable nature of sport was expressed in the *Exchequer funding application form* (Sport England, 1999), to which each of the Chief Executives in NGBs A, B, and C were committed. It was asserted that, in return for funding, certain commitments had to be undertaken. These comprised attempts; "to change the culture and structure of sport to ensure it becomes equally accessible to everyone in society, whatever their age, race, gender, or level of ability.... no one will be denied access on the grounds of ... gender" (Sport England, 1999, pp. 11,22). Despite the apparent

level of inclusiveness within the English Sports Council's documents, a contradiction was evident to the claims of sport for 'all' in *England, the sporting nation* (English Sports Council, 1997a). For example, it was claimed that; "our vision for sport in England recognises that sport does not mean the same thing to all people and cannot be all things to all people" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 7).

The English Sports Council also outlined its commitment to help the NGBs. It was claimed that in the document *More people, more places, more medals* (English Sports Council, 1998) that; "[we will] assist governing bodies to improve the quality of planning" (p. 13). Yet, the advice that was provided to aid the implementation of equity policies was piecemeal. Specifically, the English Sports Council promoted the view that; "[equity policies] must, rightly, be worked up by the agencies concerned" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 2). A number of targets were set for NGBs to achieve by 2001, including; "a 10% increase in the number of boys and a 20% increase in the numbers of girls who enjoy ... sport" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 9). The time frame in which the targets in *England, the sporting nation* were to be achieved was unclear. It was suggested that; "the vision is not bound by timescale ... the targets that follow are set to a realistic time frame" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 7). This commitment to following a 'realistic time frame' was tempered by a caveat, in which it was claimed that; "measurement in 2001 will provide us with results ... thereby allowing us to revise and refine the targets" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 9).

There was some confusion over exactly what was meant by equity in *England, the sporting nation*. For example, it was stated that; "[s]ports equity is about fairness in sport, equality of access, recognising inequalities and taking steps to redress them" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 6 [italics added]) This was reinforced later in the document participation targets were repeated. It was stated that; "a 10% increase in the numbers of boys and a 20% increase in the numbers of girls who were members of sports clubs" was required (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 9). One of five 'strategic goals' to achieve equity was; "to generate more positive attitudes to sport, especially by girls" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 8).

The English Sports Council appeared to be formally committed to a form of gender equity, expressed through the suggestions in *England, the sporting nation* (English Sports Council, 1997a). Sport is historically an area in which equity is not an influential discourse (Whitson, 1990), yet, such discourses are high on the agenda of the 'New Labour' government, which was in power at the time of the research (DCMS, 2000). The pursuit of equity in *England, the sporting nation* (English Sports Council, 1997a) may be understood as an attempt by powerful individuals to construct a version of organisational 'truth' in which equity was a central component, thus gaining political influence. In this case influence, in the form of political leverage, was created through the construction of such knowledge discourses

(Foucault, 1980). Gender equity policies may therefore be understood as a political tool, used by the English Sports Council to curry favour with the government.

Despite attempts to find political favour, resistance was expressed to the creation of equity policies within the English Sports Council's (1997a) document. For, despite a commitment to develop sport for 'everyone' within *England, the sporting nation*, a caveat was expressed, which stated that; "measurement in 2001 [will allow] us to revise and refine the targets" (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 9). This clause meant that the Council had an option not to pursue or fulfil its obligations to 'sport for all'. Such a contradictory expression within the Council's primary document may be understood as a form of resistance to the full support of equity in the NGBs on the Council's part. This organisation was therefore able to express a superficial façade of equity for political purposes but also save resources for other priorities through a less than full support for equity policies. Such resistance, within a document that was nominally committed to equity, may be understood as an example of the "plurality of resistance" (Foucault, 1979, p. 96), or the complexity of resistance, which is central to power relations. Following Foucault's (1979) argument, there is a continual risk that resistance, in this case equity policies, will in turn be resisted by other influential discourses (Foucault, 1979). This was the case in *England, the sporting nation* (English Sports Council, 1997), for although there was some acknowledgement of the need for resistance to inequitable practice, this in turn was resisted by the dominant, inequitable discourse within the English Sports Council. Through the analysis of such 'resistance to resistance' within the Council, it is possible to understand the contradictory nature of gender relations within that organisation. The expression of such complex discourses may have been indicative of a lack of understanding of gender relations as a pervasive feature of all organisations. Rather, gender was seen as a political tool, as analysed above. It is also possible that individuals within the organisation were not fully aware of any need for change within the English Sports Council and the NGBs. If this was the case then it is possible to suggest that; "the points where change is possible and desirable" (Foucault, 1984b, p. 46) were not identified within the English Sports Council and, until that occurs at some future point, change cannot be developed. If change is to emerge within that organisation, it is necessary that individuals fully grasp the potential for gender equity policies to produce change and develop realistic strategies by which this might proceed.

In addition to the low prioritisation of equity, fundamental confusion between equity and equality was evident in *England, the sporting nation* (English Sports Council, 1997a), which weakened the guidelines. As indicated in Chapter 2, this distinction is vital, yet often overlooked. The difference between equity and equality has been outlined by Hall (1996) as; "equality generally means 'equality of opportunity' ... in sport, equal opportunities were designed to increase women's overall participation ... the shift to equity signals a more comprehensive view in which the focus is no longer exclusively on women (or any other group)

but on a system ... that needs to change to accommodate them” (p. 90). Equity therefore indicates a more comprehensive acknowledgement of change within organisations and is more complex to develop than a relatively simple measurement of the numbers of each gender who participate (Mills, 1993). The focus within the English Sports Council’s document (1997a), was to increase the numbers of women and girls who would participate in sport and its administration. This was clearly a focus on equality but was defined by the Council (1997a) as ‘equity’. The assumption was therefore made within *England the sporting nation* that equal numbers of women and men in participation would lead to equity, rather than equal participation being a *possible* function of equitable practice. Of a number of potential reasons for this, two are highlighted. First, from a Foucauldian perspective, it may have been that the English Sports Council manipulated the language that they used to define equality as equity. As Foucault (1980) has suggested, this would enable the creation of ‘truth’, which indicated that the organisation was striving for the discourses that are embedded in equity, when in fact, it only attempted to achieve equality. By claiming that this was ‘equity’, powerful individuals were able to exert influence over the organisation by creating a fictional ‘truth’. This ‘truth’, furthermore, served to limit the challenges that could be addressed to gender relations for the discourses that were embedded in equality were less critical than those in equity. As Cockburn (1990) has claimed, a veneer of equity may be used to indicate to outside bodies, in this case the government and NGBs, that the organisation is equitable. Second, a less Machiavellian interpretation would be that there was ignorance in the English Sports Council over the use of the terms ‘equality’ and ‘equity’ and the words were accidentally used synonymously. This would be indicative of a lack of awareness of the critical discourses that feature in equity. Whether the confusion over equity and equality was accidental or not, the use of such language was powerful, for, as equity was measured through equality, the usefulness of equity policies as tools of change was undermined and gender relations were left unchallenged.

Further confusion between equity and equality was evident in the advice given to NGBs on attracting girls to sport. Girls were encouraged to “generate more positive attitudes to sport” (English Sports Council, 1997a, p. 7). Mills (1993) has suggested that, rather than focus on; “encouraging parallel processes of questioning political, personal, and organizational agendas” (p. 146), many equity policies are erroneously constructed to encourage those targeted by such policies (e.g. women, girls, ethnic groups, seniors, people with disabilities) to change *their* attitudes towards organisations. The English Sports Council appeared to be adamant that their perspective on sport was the ‘right’ one, and that girls (and other groups) should change to fit with that view. The English Sports Council thus created a version of ‘truth’ in which their definition of the structure and discourses within sport organisations was ‘correct’. Following Foucault (1980) such ‘truth’ became influential and unquestioned within the organisation, thus girls were encouraged to become more ‘positive’ towards the Council’s perspective. In creating

such an inflexible version of 'the truth', the English Sports Council exhibited little awareness of the historical background of sport, and specifically the NGBs, which as indicated in Chapter 5 was often discriminatory to women. Furthermore, individuals in the English Sports Council did not appear to realise that change within the organisations was necessary and that some boys, as well as girls, might be marginalised from participation. Without such awareness and determination to challenge historical discourses, there is little chance of change within organisations (Foucault, 1972).

The English Sports Council therefore exhibited little attempt to critique or change the development of its specific version of gender equity. Mills (1993) has argued, however, that it is necessary for organisations to change *their* attitudes towards marginalised groups if equity is to be an integral part of the organisation. Following Foucault's (1972) argument this means that the multiple discourses of individuals, who loosely comprise these groups, must be acknowledged in organisations. In doing so, dominant organisational discourses may be challenged and alternative directions pursued. Although unsettling for organisations, the acknowledgement of multiple discourses may highlight the relational nature of power and thus may enable a wider range of individuals to have more input in organisations. Reflection and change may therefore become an intrinsic part of organisational life (Mills, 1993).

There appeared to be little challenge to this 'creation' of 'equity' by the English Sports Council and it may be suggested that it was protected through the reification of organisational practices such as those which were analysed in Chapters 5 and 6 (Jermier, 1991). Foucault's (1980) analysis of resistance therefore fails to fully examine instances in which resistance is not evident. This substantiates McNeil's (1993) criticism of Foucault's utopian view of resistance. She said; "the problem [with Foucault] is that, particularly in the context of institutions which remain patriarchal, there can be conservative dimensions to the realisation of power" (McNeil, 1993, p. 167). In the English Sports Council, such 'conservative dimensions' underpinned a specific, narrow view of equity, which created a patriarchal view of 'truth' in which equity was articulated as equal participation between women and men. This creation of truth may indicate why there was little resistance to the English Sports Council's version of equity. For, as that organisation was, and continues to be, influential within the NGBs, it is unlikely that individuals will challenge the views that it expressed. Moreover, as it was 'girls' who were targeted within *England the sporting nation*, it is even more unlikely that the English Sports Council would face resistance. For, as indicated in Chapter 6, the influence of women within the NGBs was limited, thus it is likely that girls will be even less influential in the future. Their potential to challenge the views that were held by the English Sports Council (1997a) is therefore minimal. The 'realisation of power', rather than resulting in resistance, was indeed 'conservative' as it was articulated through the English Sports Council's (1997a) specific, narrow view of equity.

The instructions to the NGBs for the implementation of equity policies were also conceptually confused. The method that was employed by the English Sports Council of encouraging NGBs to 'work up' their own policies was claimed to increase their autonomy (English Sports Council, 1997a). Although this nominally enabled flexibility in the implementation of gender equity policies, it also served to allow the English Sports Council to distance itself from the NGBs. This 'hands off' approach to implementation paralleled Foucault's (1979) comment that; "power is characterised by tactics that are quite often explicit at the restrictive level at which they are inscribed ... and yet it is often that no one is there to have invented them" (p. 95). The 'tactics' that 'characterised' power in this case were the English Sports Council's requirement to have equity policies. These were 'restrictive' in that NGBs had to follow certain guidelines, which, as the above analysis indicates, were confusing, contradictory, and riddled with errors. Yet, by leaving the NGBs to implement them without proper guidance, the English Sports Council could not be held accountable, for they could claim not to have 'invented' the specifics of implementation. This organisation was thus ultimately unaccountable for the NGBs' interpretation and development of gender equity policies. By using power in this way, the English Sports Council was able to protect itself from recrimination if the policies did not work. As the Council distanced itself from implementation, it may be understood that gender equity policies' power was reduced, as they did not have the backing of such an influential organisation. They were therefore devalued as a tool to challenge discriminatory practices, which were identified in Chapters 5 and 6.

In order to return to the influence of the English Sports Council on the NGBs during the research period, I address the interpretations of *England, the sporting nation* by the NGBs and the expression of their interpretations in terms of creating gender equity policies. In order to enable clarity in the discussion, I present the gender equity policies of each NGB in turn. I then analyse the discourses that were expressed by analytical category, rather than by each NGB.

NGBs' reactions to *England, the sporting nation: a strategy* (English Sports Council, 1997a)

Each NGB was expected, by the English Sports Council, to express its commitment to gender equity through two documents, which were based on the criteria within *England the sporting nation* (English Sports Council, 1997a). The first response was either the production, or a commitment to the future creation, of an equity policy. The second response indicated some form of incorporation of the gender equity policy within either a Business or Development Plan for the NGB. National Governing Body C's commitment to equity was expressed in a one page document, entitled *Equal opportunities statement* (NGB C, 1997). In this document, it was stated that; "[NGB C] and all its agents fully support the principles of equal opportunities and is committed to ensuring that all bodies are treated fairly and on an equal basis, regardless of gender, age, racial origin, culture, religious belief, disability or sexual identity" (NGB C, 1997). Further; "in formulating working procedures ... the Association will seek to ensure that for its

part every reasonable effort is made in format, language and approach which in relation to a person's gender ... is appropriate to all persons" (NGB C, 1997). Despite the formal expression of adherence to equitable practice through the development of an equal opportunities statement within the organisation, individuals in NGB C were unable to illustrate their ongoing commitment to equal opportunities within a Business or Development Plan. The only long term commitment to gender equity was a statement written by the English Sports Council and signed by the first Chief Executive. In this document, it was promised that; "from the date of any award of grant aid, no one will be denied access to these programmes or any part of them in respect of which grant has been paid, whether in full or in part, on the grounds of race, colour, gender, sexuality, age, marital status, disability, occupation, religion or political persuasion without reasonable and proper cause" (English Sports Council, 1997b, p. 22).

National Governing Body A did not have an equity policy at the time of the research. The formal commitment to equity was a two page statement that was written by the Chief Executive, entitled *Developing an equity strategy* (NGB A, 1999b). Comments about gender equity comprised the following; "considerable progress has been made in Gender Equity issues within the sport and it is anticipated that this progress will continue" (NGB A, 1999b, p. 1). This 'pledge' to equity was demonstrated by stating that; "girls participate fully in our sports activities, the majority of administrators and teachers within our sport are women" (NGB A, 1999b, p. 1). No plans for the development of these achievements were outlined. The commitment within NGB A's Business Plan was identified from 1998-1999 to; "establish an equity policy", from 2000-2002, this was to be; "reviewed" (NGB A, 1998b, p. 16).

National Governing Body B's engagement with gender equity was formalised in a one page *Equity policy statement* (NGB B, 1999). The inclusive nature of the policy was similar to that developed by NGB C and favoured by the English Sports Council. It was claimed that; "all people, irrespective of their age, gender, disability, race, ethnic origin, creed, colour, social status, religious or sexual orientation, have a genuine and equal opportunity to participate in [the sport] at all levels of performance and in all roles" (NGB B, 1999). Within the statement, the Race Relations Act (1976), Equal Pay Act (1970), Sex Discrimination Acts (1975, 1986), and Disability Discrimination Act (1995) were quoted, stating that members' rights were defended under these Acts. It was further stated within the policy that; "NGB B reserves the right to discipline any members/employers [sic] of NGB B who practice any form of discrimination" (NGB B, 1999). In accordance with the English Sports Council's requirements, the authors of NGB B's gender equity policy claimed that it was to be; "monitor[ed] and evaluat[ed]" (NGB B, 1999). National Governing Body B enshrined gender equity issues within the four year Business Plan 1998-2002 which provided the basis for NGB B's funding bid to Sport England (NGB B, 1998d). In terms of the future of the gender equity policy, it was claimed within the Business Plan that; "the infrastructure is well established to cater for women in [the sport] ...

the successful efforts of the past will be continued, and indeed, expanded upon, to ensure the continuity of a stream of new female competitors coming into the sport” (NGB B, 1998d, p. 12). The pursuit of these policies was identified in NGB B’s Development Plan through; “four courses for women only” (NGB B, 1998d, p. 6).

The NGBs followed the English Sports Council’s guidelines for creating gender equity policies, and reproduced much of that organisation’s confusion concerning equity and equality. This was identified in NGB A’s document *Developing an equity strategy* (NGB A, 1999b) in which ‘equity achievements’ were identified through the increase in numbers of participants. In NGB B, the commitment to ‘genuine and equal opportunities’ was identified through an; “increase of female members by 10% per annum” (NGB B, 1998-99, p. 6). Equality was also the focus of NGB C’s commitment through a; “full commitment to equal opportunities” (NGB C, 1997, p. 1).

A commitment to the creation of gender equity policies, as identified by the English Sports Council, was expressed by each NGB. There was little challenge to the guidelines that were established by the English Sports Council (1997a). It is possible to analyse the reasons for this from a Foucauldian perspective. The views in *England, the sporting nation* (English Sports Council, 1997a) were given; “special temporal status, enabl[ing] us to isolate the new against a background of permanence” (Foucault, 1972, p. 21). In other words, the discourses embodied in *England, the sporting nation* were reified within the NGBs’ equity policies (Jermier, 1991). Any criticism to them would have been ‘isolated’, i.e. marginalised, against the ‘permanent’ discourses that were expressed by the English Sports Council (1997a). In practice, any challenges to the English Sports Council could have meant a discontinuation or reduction of funding for the NGBs. Hence, they were unlikely to challenge the English Sports Council’s suggestions. It is also possible to suggest that the lack of challenge to the discourses in *England, the sporting nation* (1997a) was partly due to a lack of awareness of equity issues within the organisations. As noted in Chapter 6, language that indicated discriminatory practices frequently went unnoticed. This may have been indicative of a low level of awareness of equity issues, which led to few challenges to the equality discourses that the English Sports Council produced as equity. The repercussions for gender relations were evident, for, as that organisation’s views were unquestioningly formalised in gender equity policies, so few challenges to gender relations were expressed.

The implementation of the NGBs’ gender equity policies also followed the English Sports Council’s guidelines and did little to formally challenge gender relations. In NGB A, a commitment had been made to plan and implement a gender equity policy by 1999, yet neither had occurred (NGB A, 1998b). In NGB C, there was no commitment to implement the *Equal opportunities statement* (NGB C, 1997). In contrast, the commitment to the implementation of the policy was clearly established within NGB B’s *Development work programme*, yet the

discourses embedded within this were synonymous with equality. It would appear that, as influential women and men in organisations embodied masculinities (Chapter 6), so they were unwilling to challenge such discourses through the adoption of equity policies. This is consistent with Hultin and Szulkin (1999)'s argument that such policies are not favoured by managers because they specifically challenge masculinities. In contrast, *equality* policies may be implemented without such organisational analysis. By ignoring and devaluing critical *equity* policies in favour of *equality*, those in power were able to; "dominate positions of power and often reproduce their power/authority, cultural values and sense of identity" (Martin, 1996, p. 188). It is not in 'human nature' to question the everyday practices that define institutions such as the NGBs (Foucault, 1972) and it was therefore unlikely that individuals would want to implement policies that demanded the analysis of organisational structures, which as Chapters 5 and 6 have indicated, reinforced the influence of specific masculine discourses.

By engaging in such critiques, it is however possible to visualise real change within organisations. Foucault (1972) stated that by examining discourses, which create everyday, 'taken for granted' organisational practices; "one sees the loosening of embrace, apparently so tight, of words and things" (p. 49). The effects of such an examination of discourses in the NGBs might enable a 'loosening of the embrace' of organisational practices and urge individuals to question gender relations thus facilitating a move to a possible creation of critical gender equity policies. It is perhaps unsurprising that NGB A, arguably the most 'traditional' of the organisations, was apparently unwilling to welcome challenging equity policies and 'loosen the embrace' of over 100 years of tradition. It has already been indicated how masculine discourses in the NGBs would be threatened by such an experience (Chapter 6). More surprisingly, perhaps, were NGB B's and NGB C's negative reactions to the implementation of equity policies. It has been established that NGB B was proud of its heritage of equitable behaviour and that NGB C was in a state of self-analysis and transformation (Chapter 5). Discourses of change were therefore fundamental to both organisations. The opportunities to engage in transformation strategies, which were presented by equity policies, were overlooked in favour of the pursuit of equality. It is therefore possible to suggest that neither organisation wanted to challenge the English Sports Council's dominant discourses for to do so would jeopardise funding. This is indicative of a tension that was indicated in Chapter 6 in which there is a discrepancy between the pursuit of equity and the chase for funding, which is embodied in some discourses of professionalism. Within certain aspects of professionalism within sport organisations the chase for funding overwhelms a commitment to certain policies. This suggests that, as Kerfoot and Whitehead (1998) have indicated, professionalism may be counter-productive to the development of equity. The repercussions of this for gender relations are that, as the form of professionalism espoused by Sport England grows within the NGBs (Sport England, 2000), critical equity policies and subsequent challenges to gender relations will

become even less prominent in the NGBs. Resistance to inequitable practices may, therefore, become even less of a priority. While this may be understood to challenge Foucault's (1979) analysis of resistance as 'everywhere', it is possible to suggest that, by turning to *What is Enlightenment?* (Foucault, 1984b), change may occur through 'local' critiques of the discourses of professionalism that are expounded by Sport England. This would involve action on the part of individuals who wished to produce change within the organisations to critique some professional practices that may be discriminatory. While this indicates the development of a more positive emphasis on the development of professionalism, Foucault's (1984b) caveat should be borne in mind that; "this historico-critical attitude must also be an experimental one" (p. 46). Rather than expecting individuals to embrace the idea of criticising the very policies that they have constructed, it may be that incremental change is required through increased education about gender issues for people entering the NGBs.

According to the formal data, gender equity policies were based on a confusion of equity and equality, and a need to secure funding with minimal effort. The fulfilment of *equality* criteria, which underpinned the English Sports Council's equity requirements, was achieved by implementing plans that were based on increasing numbers of participants, not organisational critique. Therefore, the impact of gender equity policies in challenging gender relations was minimal. In order to contribute further to this discussion, I now turn to the informal expression of the creation and implementation of gender equity policies.

Informal expressions of the creation and implementation of gender equity policies

In this section, I analyse the discourses that were informally expressed concerning gender equity policies and their effects on the creation of gender power relations. As in Chapters 5 and 6, this method of analysis enabled the substantiation of, and contrast and comparison to, formally expressed discourses. Data for this analysis were gathered through interviews and participant observation. Three categories of analysis were constructed within the data analysis. These comprised individuals' views on their relationship with Sport England; perceptions of equity/equality as 'complete'; and concerns over implementation. The data are presented as a whole within each category, rather than by NGB.

Individuals' views on their relationship with Sport England

The views held by individuals on Sport England's influence were complex. For ease of analysis and clarity in the discussion, the data in this category were subdivided into two further sub categories. These were identified as concerns over gender equity requirements made by Sport England and conflicts over funding priorities.

Concerns over gender equity requirements made by Sport England

As was indicated in the previous section, the English Sports Council/Sport England was influential in encouraging the NGBs to develop gender equity policies. It was suggested that the

formal encouragement offered to the NGBs was not fully substantiated by advice by Sport England. One senior manager in NGB A accused Sport England of; “constantly changing the goal posts” for equity targets. This was reinforced by a National Development Officer (NDO) in NGB B. He stated that; “when it comes to equity, Sport England are pushing, it used to be just gender, now it’s got to be disability, race, everything.” The NDO’s colleague reiterated concern of the generalisation of equity. He said;

To be honest, they’re never specific enough. They never say ‘you’ve got to do something about this’ you’ve got to look like you’re going to do something about it ... they actually expect, I don’t know, you always feel that they expect a bit too much and it’s unrealistic.

Further views on this sentiment were expressed by the Chief Executive of NGB C. He expressed the opinion that;

it’s assumed that [equity within the organisation] is OK but Sport England are saying ‘that’s not good enough, the assumption that you’re OK. We want positive training and action taken over equity issues’. And that’s OK but [Sport England] have a ‘one suit fits all’, one programme for all sports. Clearly some sports are discriminatory, no question and our sport is not so but there is a lot of room for improvement.

The ‘one suit fits all’ ethos was further criticised within NGB B. The NDO said that; “I think the thing that I find frustrating is that they ... don’t look at the differences between sports, there are sports that appeal more to women, more to men. As long as the opportunities are being given, that’s the thing.”

Concerns over equity requirements were therefore articulated in each organisation. A primary concern was frustration with Sport England’s view of equity policies as homogeneous, or ‘one suit fits all’. Sport England’s view was therefore perceived by individuals as taking inadequate account of history, traditions, or other contextual issues that may be useful in contextualising current organisations. Alvesson and Billing (1997) have similarly identified some equity policies as failing to address multiple discourses in organisations. A homogeneous view of equity is, however, easier to create than a carefully planned policy, which takes into account the views of many within organisations (Cockburn, 1990). This is probably why Sport England and the NGBs engaged with such a view. Furthermore, as Kerfoot and Knights (1998) have suggested, individuals were not willing to criticise the masculine discourses through which they become influential. Such influential discourses were embedded in the management of Sport England and the NGBs (Chapter 6), thus there was little indication of how, or whether, informal resistance might develop into widely accepted knowledge and become influential within the organisations.

Foucault (1980) has argued, however, that an acknowledgement of alternative discourses may lead to resistance and create change. Some such resistance was expressed through the informal critique by individuals in the NGBs, thus partially reinforcing Foucault’s (1980) assertions. The influence of such resistance was, however, minimal because individuals

within the NGBs were unable to find or cultivate channels through which they could develop informal concerns about gender equity policies into formal challenges. The repercussions of this were that equity policies remained largely ineffective and gender relations, dominated by masculine discourses, were unchallenged. The limitations of the development of resistance suggested that, although a Foucauldian (1980) analysis of power within gender relations enabled the identification of resistance in the NGBs, it once again failed to adequately theorise how that resistance might be put into practice.

Conflicts over funding priorities

Individuals from all three NGBs strongly identified equity policies as useful tools through which to gain funding. The tensions that were inherent in this were communicated by a NDO in NGB B. She said; “it’s in the equity policy that equity will be monitored but it’s not clear how that will happen. And, knowing that we are doing that anyway and having to *prove* it [for funding] sometimes is irksome.” Others bemoaned the fact that increased funding brought increased responsibility and the need to prioritise. In NGB A, a Director suggested that in relation to implementing gender equity policies;

it’s difficult [to prioritise equity] because of the amount of change in the past two years. In some ways, having no money and not much of a programme is a nice problem, in the past it was manageable. Now we suddenly have £2 million that we didn’t have and that brings a lot of programmes. So yes, very challenging, lots of balls in the air. So there’s a lot of conflict in some areas and managing that change can be a tricky issue really.

In NGB C, the commitment to equity was also described as a largely financial exercise. The Financial Director suggested that; “I think that the only reason we did [the merger] was because of the pounds signs being flashed around.” A senior volunteer from NGB C stated that; “the men and the ladies were told seven years ago by the Sports Council that if they wanted to keep on getting money for internationals in due course, they would have to merge.” The financial implications of gender equity within NGB C were clear. The volunteer continued; “there was a significant financial carrot involved in that the Lottery [funding] was put forward. It would be a significant provider of funds and [we were] roundly encouraged to make sure that we were bidding with one voice, not against each other.” Another volunteer suggested that; “the Sports Council were going to put through Lottery funding and weren’t going to give us any money [if we didn’t merge].” Similar discourses were expressed in NGB B. A senior manager said that; “you basically slant your report to make it more obvious. I mean we changed one women’s camp to a novices’ [camp], will we change that in the report, we might doctor the truth. I’m not saying we lie, there may be some false accounting.” The President of the organisation argued that; “we could put down on our application to the Sports Council that we had a Women’s Committee and we were doing all those things, I mean come on, you know, we gotta grow up here. In our budget to the Sports Council, we put down £5,000 for our budget for

women's stuff and I'm sure we never got that, I think the Women's Committee got £500 a year which wasn't bad."

The central reason for creating and promoting equity policies was therefore identified as links to funding, rather than any specific commitment to equity. 'Equity' furthermore, could be claimed when the discourses that are embedded in equality were being developed within the NGBs. As knowledge about how to secure funding in this way grew, so the practice of effectively minimising equity and focusing on equality became more powerful. The effect of this was to further diminish the incorporation of critical gender equity policies into the NGBs, thus undervaluing attempts to encourage women and certain groups of men within the organisations. Respondents from NGB A also outlined the conflicts in prioritisation, which they faced as a result of professionalisation. As noted in the formal section, it appeared that equity was the antithesis of the form of professionalisation that was dominant in the organisations, resulting in conflicts over policy selection. As Hultin and Szulkin (1999) have suggested, such prioritisation issues may lead to the selective implementation of equity policies. Such marginalisation of critical equity does not lend itself to challenging masculine discourses. As a result, gender relations remained largely unchallenged in the organisations, thus indicating little resistance to the dominance of funding discourses, or an awareness that funding and equity might be policies that could be pursued together. Although Foucault (1972) has suggested that multiple discourses such as professionalism and equity can exist together, the respondents did not articulate this. This indicated that Foucault's (1972, 1979) vision of power might be somewhat utopian for the practicalities of the management of NGBs in their current context as individuals did not articulate a desire for change. This polarisation of funding and equity also indicated that the particular discourses of professionalism, which were pursued in NGBs A, B, and C, were not conducive to equity. This contrasts with Mills' (1993) assertion that some forms of professionalism can incorporate and be synonymous with equity. This acceptance of a 'non-equitable' professionalism may have been because individuals in the NGBs may have felt powerless to suggest changes when funding was at stake. Their 'local' resistance would therefore risk being overwhelmed by dominant discourses (Foucault, 1984b). Following Foucault (1984b), however, it may be possible for individuals to ask; "how are we constituted as subjects of our own knowledge?" (p. 49). In so doing, individuals may become more aware of how their actions may result from dominant knowledge, in this case a specific form of professionalisation. If they then wish to change the current apathy towards gender equity, they may do so by challenging that dominant knowledge and thus challenging their own actions. Until this occurs, however, and challenges are made to the pursuit of equality for funding in the form of gender equity there were, and will continue to be, very few challenges to established gender power relations.

The interpretation of the organisations as equitable

Within the NGBs, the view was expressed that the organisations were equitable. As a representative of NGB A suggested; “with gender and age, people don’t really see that there’s any problem, female [athletes] are equal. And it’s about the only sport where women do events in about the same time [as men]. I don’t see it as a problem.” Another interviewee reinforced this with his perceptions of equity; “if you look at the World Class Lottery funded [athletes] there were five male, five female. They will all have equal opportunities.” A representative from NGB C stated that the women’s game was well represented because; “we have equal members on the management committee. We are equally represented on all committees.”

Other organisational members felt that equity was ‘complete’ within the culture of the organisation. A respondent from NGB A suggested that; “where I used to be, to get the job, you had to be better than the guys. Now, it’s not like that here, I think it’s irrelevant.” The ex-Chair of the Women’s Committee in NGB B, when questioned about the discontinuation of that committee, suggested that; “our work is done, it is complete.” When asked what the men might feel about a female Chief Executive she said;

it makes no difference at all, and the fellas get along fine, the equality side is there ... it is very rare to hear of anything that is not equal in [our sport] ... I think in [the sport] you’ve really met where women and men were equal. I know it. I know what it was like and I know what it is now, I’ve seen it historically. I’ve seen pay get more equal.

Another respondent suggested that; “I may be quite naïve but ... flying the flag for equity, I think, we do reasonably well.” Individuals in NGB C also expressed these sentiments. A senior volunteer suggested that; “I think we’re doing quite well, I don’t think women are being undervalued.”

Some individuals resisted this view of equity as intrinsic to the organisations and for them, there was a recognition that gender equity policies were required; “it’s hard to eliminate outdated views” was the suggestion of one NGB A respondent. Another suggested that; “[for] a lot of the elderly [individuals], [gender equity’s] not going to work. You just have to wait until they [retire]...[for change to happen] it needs to be obvious, that it’s as acceptable for a woman to go on a committee as a man.”

At face value the perception held by many that equity was intrinsic to the organisations might have been cause for optimism. However, equity was largely defined as equality and identified through numbers of participants. The superficiality of this was evident. For example, in NGB C, the claim that the 50% rule ensured equity was undermined by the fact that this rule is void after 2003. Until research is conducted in NGB C after 2003, it will not be possible to say whether or not attempts at equity will remain. In NGB B, claims of equity as ‘complete’ or ‘done’ devalued previous commitments to challenge complacency as those assertions were not reinforced in practice. The expression of similar perspectives of ‘completeness’ in NGB A may

ensure that equity policies are never taken seriously, for it would appear that any excuse to protect the traditional networks in that organisation were welcomed. It is possible that individuals in the NGBs were attempting to create an impression of equity. Such knowledge creation is intrinsic to Foucault's (1980) analysis of a single truth or history. He argued that such truth; "is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements" (Foucault, 1980, p. 133). Such 'statements', 'distributed' and 'circulated' by individuals about the equitable nature of the organisations, ensured that 'the truth' was constructed about the intrinsic nature of equity. A version of organisational 'truth' was therefore created for external agencies such as Sport England, and perhaps even for my benefit. This would ensure that the NGBs had presented a 'correct' version of equity, which some in the organisations believed, I would report to Sport England.

For Foucault (1980), as well as claiming that truth is created, it was possible to suggest that it should be analysed in order to understand why and how it was constructed. Such an analysis enables the examination of some reasons why 'truth' about gender equity was created. Foucault (1980) suggested that this may be done; "by detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which it operates at the current time" (p. 133) The 'hegemony' that informed the creation of truth in the organisations was the requirements made by Sport England to fulfil equity criteria. If a united front was portrayed, which expressed the NGBs as equitable, then the organisations would not have to examine the organisation through critical equity policies. A truth of the organisation as equitable was therefore created, which as Alvesson and Billing (1997) have suggested, illustrated the construction of a defence against criticism. For the respondents, this meant that the masculine discourses that had made them influential were not challenged. Ironically, such claims of equity in the organisations prevented self-reflection and organisational analysis. As Mills (1993) suggested this was potentially detrimental to the construction of equitable gender relations.

Some resistance to this apparent complacency was articulated. The creation of gender equity policies was critiqued by respondents as futile, as it was acknowledged that such policies could not, in their current state, challenge established, influential discourses within the organisations, due to the influence of dominant historical, contextual discourses. Following Foucault's (1980) theory on power, such resistance may be understood as a demonstration of micro, local, individual level resistance to the state of gender equity policies at the time of the research. Such resistance was based largely on the view held by some younger employees in NGB A that the continued employment of older volunteers kept young, female members out of employment positions. While indicating resistance to dominant discourses this expression of equity presented its own paradox. That is, by enabling the promotion of one marginalised group such as young women, another, such as older employees, was itself threatened with

marginalisation. This challenged a frequently held assumption that younger employees will have more understanding of equity (Chapter 8). It also indicated the narrow, exclusive view of gender equity that was held in organisations and the understanding that gender equity could be implemented at the expense of another, frequently marginalised 'group'. There was no evident understanding that equity can encompass many different groups of individuals. Power was therefore understood to be relational between these two groups, corroborating Foucault's (1980) arguments on the inherent nature of resistance within power relations. Although Foucault's (1980) theory of micro resistance was reinforced through the challenges that were expressed in NGB A, it did not necessarily have positive effects for all marginalised groups. Further shortcomings of Foucault's (1980) somewhat utopian vision of resistance were therefore identified.

By articulating views on gender power relations that were identified as complete, individuals within the NGBs further undervalued gender equity policies and did little to challenge gender power relations. In order to complete the analysis of gender equity policies with NGBs A, B, and C, I turn to the informal discourses surrounding their implementation within the organisations.

Implementation of equity policies

The implementation of gender equity policies in the NGBs was a far from smooth process. It was identified as a 'time-wasting chore' by a senior Development Officer in NGB A. He said; "as far as the gender bit goes, it's not been talked about at any level. If they wanted to [target groups] with the [sic] gender, that would make my job more difficult because I would have to spend more time targeting females than males." The issue of implementation of equity at a broader level was highlighted by the Chief Executive who suggested that the ethnic representation of NGB A should be similar to that in England. Yet, he argued; "there can't be more than that. I can't import a black person just to satisfy some equity nut at the Sports Council." An issue of the amount of time that would be required to implement an equity policy was of concern for those in NGB A. A Regional Development Officer (RDO) stated; "I think those things will take time, especially ... where those people are older and retired and they generally tend to be males with age old traditions." A Director of NGB A suggested why this change would be slow. She said; "it's already been suggested by the Past President's Commission that the structure should change to look at ability rather than status. Council didn't look at it because they felt threatened." Some potential for change was illustrated as the Chief Executive Officer suggested; "everybody fears change but that's not a reason not to do it. It's how you go about the process and maybe we don't get the process right. We've been guilty of saying, 'this is what we want to do, do it' and [we have] not tried to take people along. In the past couple of years, we've tried to take people along."

For some respondents, the purpose of, and necessity for, the implementation of equity policies was frequently expressed by individuals as unclear. This view was described succinctly by a senior administrator at NGB C. He claimed that; “we operate in a world that says gender is irrelevant, that we have equal opportunity. If you have gender equity as a starting point, you don’t have a gender issue... no-one said that we’re going to put this Association together and discriminate for all the nice things when the key issue was ... to get the process going.” The organisation’s attempts at gender equity through the 50% representation of women and men on committees were viewed by respondents to be problematic. The Financial Director in NGB C suggested; “it’s universally acknowledged that because there is this doubling up... it becomes more cumbersome.” The Chief Executive reinforced this view as he argued; “it’s already becoming a nuisance, having to think in terms of one man and one woman but this fades away shortly.”

A more positive approach to the creation of active gender equity policies was outlined by the Chief Executive of NGB A. He said that; “if a district said to me, we have an exceptionally good lady in our area, but here were some issues [around her suitability], why we feel we can’t get her support. I would be more than happy to provide a mentor and training programme because I think it would provided a fast track approach and the right catalyst for change. But I’d do the same for a fella.” He reinforced this view by stating that; “you can either change the culture by massaging it or by surgery. And I’m not averse to a bit of surgery, if I think at the end of the day it will make a better organisation.” However, in practice, his claims were contradicted, as a Director stated that; “we decided we’d quite like a woman on the team for a balance. Three women applied and they were much weaker. One rang me up and I told her why she didn’t get the job and she said ‘I hold my hands up, I don’t have that experience.’” No support or further training was offered to this woman, contradicting the argument that was offered by the Chief Executive.

The view that gender equity policies were ‘extra’ to established workloads was endemic within the organisations. Within NGB A, the view was expressed that the implementation of gender equity policies would ‘make jobs more difficult’, in NGB C, it was perceived that the organisation started from an ‘equitable position’, and in NGB B, the view that ‘proving’ equity was irksome was expressed. It appeared that many respondents could not identify the purpose of equity policies, hence they were ‘a waste of time’. This indicated that respondents were not informed of the potential for equity to be intrinsic to organisations, rather than an extra ‘chore’. This corroborates Mills’ (1993) argument in which he indicated that gender equity policies may be devalued within organisations due to individuals’ disdain for them. Such discourses may become influential and hard to challenge within organisations (Foucault, 1979). These discourses may, however, be challenged by individuals in a historico-critical analysis, which is urged by Foucault (1984b), to develop change. This was not evident within the NGBs, probably

due to the influence of a number of organisational discourses, including the view that equity was 'complete' and a waste of time, thus indicating a lack of the analysis to which Foucault (1984b) refers. While not wishing to imply that organisational members have either the time or the motivation to critically analyse daily practices, it is possible to suggest that as they were clearly aware of inequities (Chapters 5 and 6), then this awareness could be turned into critiques that may cultivate change. This has occurred to a certain extent in NGB B and it is only the recent promotion of professional discourses that have undermined that discourse. With a return to critical discourse in NGB B, and its adoption within NGBs A and C, it may be possible to create a change in attitude towards gender equity policies within those organisations.

The slowness of any potential change to gender relations through the implementation of equity policies contributed to their image as futile. One reason for this lack of speed was the cumbersome nature of the organisations. Each had a voluntary and professional executive (Chapter 4) and it was unlikely that any motion, especially one that was perceived to be unpopular and useless, would be implemented quickly. In analysing this more deeply, however, it may be that this slow progress was due to an organisational resistance to equity. As Hultin and Szulkin (1999) have argued, it is unlikely that those who gained influence through the reiteration of certain discourses will challenge those discourses. In addition, as indicated above, Foucault (1972) suggested that the protection of specific discourses is central to the defence of power. Therefore, as both women and men in authority in the NGBs benefited from masculine discourses (Chapter 6), it was highly unlikely that they would challenge them. It was in these influential individuals' interests to ensure that, while paying lip service to gender equity policies for funding purposes, such policies were perceived as useless within the organisations. This would ensure that their implementation would be half-hearted and piecemeal and that the dominance of masculine discourses would not be resisted. Discriminatory gender relations would therefore remain largely unchallenged.

Some resistance to these views was expressed within NGB A. This was not anticipated within the research, given the generally dismissive view of the implementation of gender equity policies by many in NGB A. Yet, the Chief Executive was verbally committed to 'surgery' within the organisation that would ensure changes took place, thus expressing active resistance to discriminatory practices, which have been identified as being at the heart of critical gender equity policies. Such actions would have reinforced Mills' (1993) arguments that radical measures need to be taken in order to challenge inequity. This view was, however, resisted in practice, as no assistance was offered to a woman whose experience fell short of job requirements. While this is consistent with Foucault's (1979) theorising of continual resistance within power relations, it failed to indicate a commitment to equity within NGB A as dominant discourses prevailed despite the optimistic words of the Chief Executive. The dominance of such discourses was, it may be suggested, the result of the basis of his claims within a somewhat

superficial political statement rather than a critically developed argument. Such superficial claims, when put in practice, were shown to be lacking substance. From a methodological perspective, it could also be argued that the Chief Executive's extravagant claim was the result of; "a wish to manipulate [the researcher] in various ways, perhaps ... to reveal certain data to certain others that we want to influence" (Jones, 1985a, p. 50). The result of this for gender relations in NGB A was that, despite positive words from the Chief Executive, little was done in practice. Once again, challenges to discriminatory gender relations did not occur.

Concluding comments

The analysis of the creation and implementation of gender equity policies gave insight into a number of discourses that influenced the creation of gender relations. As a result of advice from the English Sports Council (1997a), NGBs expressed formal and informal discourses on equity that were closely identified to less the challenging views embodied in equality. The pursuit of numbers of participants, intrinsic to equality, ensured that the more critical aspects of equity were not developed (Mills, 1993). This highlighted the impotence of gender equity policies to present a challenge to gender power relations within the NGBs. Conflicts over funding meant that gender equity policies were seen as funding tools, rather than as a tool to pursue equity for its 'own sake'. Such contradictions indicated a tension between professionalism and equity, which was ironic as the development of equity is a part of Sport England's plans for professionalisation in the NGBs (Sport England, 2000). This meant a further devaluation of gender equity policies and lack of challenge to gender power relations.

In order to examine the final component that was identified as contributing to the construction of gender power relations in NGBs, I turn to the analysis of organisational networking and its effects on the creation of gender power relations within NGBs A, B, and C.

Chapter eight: Organisational networking

In this final discussion chapter, I analyse the effects of organisational networking on gender relations in the NGBs. As suggested in Chapter 2, such networking comprises a number of social phenomena, which as Rosen (1991a) has indicated, may take on several different guises. These may range from gaining access to influential networks, wearing 'appropriate' clothing, to having a 'suitable' taste in food. Networking, while providing 'inclusionary' practices for those who conform and 'fit' with required conventions, can also be exclusionary, barring people on grounds of perceived 'unsuitability' (Woodward, 1996). As Hultin and Szulkin (1999) have suggested, organisational networking may take the form of single sex networks, thus its analysis contributed to the understanding of gender relations in sport organisations.

Informal expressions of networking

Unlike the practices that have been analysed in previous discussion chapters, networking was not expressed formally in the NGBs, thus only informally articulated discourses were available for analysis. In order to contextualise informal networking within the wider process of the creation of gender relations, comparisons and contrasts were made in the analysis with discourses that have been analysed in previous chapters. For example, it is suggested that networking is historically created, it may develop the influence of specific masculine discourses, and it may reduce the influence of gender equity policies. Three categories were identified within the analysis of the data that related to networking. These categories were the prevalence of "old boys" and "old girls" networks; the use of humour; and the development of dress codes. The data are presented as a whole for each category, rather than separated by NGB.

The prevalence of "old boys" and "old girls" networks

Powerful 'old boys' and 'old girls' networks were usually accessed by volunteers and, despite the drive towards professionalisation within the NGBs, had enormous power as they were able to veto decisions taken by professionals (Chapter 4). As Hultin and Szulkin (1999) have suggested, they comprised single sex networks of individuals who had been in the organisations for a long period of time, hence the label 'old boys' and 'old girls'. Access to these networks was not easy, and it was necessary to have some personal influence to gain credibility within them. As one respondent from NGB A suggested;

I think it's a bit of an old boy network, [as in] we think you ought to put yourself forward for district [committees] and we'll support you ... if you're going to be involved in district committee posts, you need [the support] of other people in other counties, so if you've not put yourself around, then they've got some in their county who they don't know, they'll vote for someone who they do know.

The reinforcement of this system became clear when another respondent from NGB A stated that; "it's a strange business but the person asked to be President elect is in a huddle of past Presidents, so the past Presidents are responsible for producing their 'considered opinion' on

who is to be the next President elect.” Views on the power of the ‘all male’ committees within NGB A were reinforced by a professional member of NGB A, who said that; “there are just over 20 members on the executive, they just say that unless someone wants to stand down, which is never the case unless they die or are ill, then the vote is for the same committee.” It was not only old boys’ networks that were powerful in NGB A. Similar ‘old girls’ networks’ were established in a branch of the sport that was almost exclusively played by women. The Development Officer for the sport in NGB A suggested that; “for me it’s an ‘old girls’ club’ ... there is discrimination against some men. Some [women] feel that male coaches are perving¹².” The influence of old girls’ networks was also reinforced in NGB C, as the President described her own ascent to power;

I’ve been involved with [the sport], I suppose ever since in the early days of a club player and then I played for county ... I was the sort of person they asked to be secretary and so I was county secretary and county captain, doing both jobs at the same time. And I’ve just gone on through, I played reserve international, I was a selector ... I was Chairman of North Schools association and that was founded many years ago. Then I was Vice President of the North [region] and then President of the North and it went on from there.

Within NGB B, there was less evidence of either an old boys’ or girls’ network, perhaps reflecting the relative youth of the organisation. Some evidence of networking, which had alarmed members of the organisation, was, however, identified by one respondent. She stated that; “one of the coaches should have been taken off [the coaches’ register] ... he publicly said that he had a fetish about women’s breasts ... and it was shoved under the table by the past Chairman.” In this comment, she indicated that organisational networks may have been utilised in order to ‘cover up’ an embarrassing, derogatory, and sexist remark by a coach.

Whether the networks were made up of women or men, they encountered a degree of frustration and resistance from professional organisational members. This was articulated by a Senior Development Officer in NGB A. He suggested that;

those who have been in for donkey’s years and are life members and can’t wait to get that chain [of office] around their necks, those are the ones I have a problem with. You look at all the Presidents who fly out to Australia for the World Champ[ionship]s and have a heart attack because they’re not appointed until they’re 80. And everyone in the world makes fun of it, they say ‘oh, your zimmer frame brigade’s arrived’.

Another respondent felt that the old boys’ and girls’ networks were not in keeping with professional discourses, which were increasingly required by Sport England within the NGBs. She said; “Governing Bodies are blinkered to their sport and not what goes on outside their sport, they have to evolve. And I think because of that mindset, I think maybe they’ve not evolved in a way a normal business would.” Another respondent expressed his criticism of the old boys’ network within NGB A. He said;

¹² This is a colloquial form of describing people as ‘perverts’

I think it should be a three or five year term. The Presidents are for a year but it's not really a very democratic outfit to say the least. [When I was younger] I was quite astonished to see these people who were the hierarchy with their walking sticks. It was a bit mind boggling really. I always have thought and have expressed the view that it needs changing but how do you change it?

Resistance to the influence of old boys' networks was also expressed in NGB C. A senior committee member felt that he had been ousted by a powerful old boys' network for suggesting changes in the management that conflicted with traditional views. His views on the new Association were;

I think that [old boys' networks] are the last thing you want. The problem that you have is that the people who do admin[istration] in sport tend to be older people, they've got more time, more money, more opportunity. That then becomes their hobby and their life. What you need is for the people to understand that the world they are administering is changing, and the needs of the game have changed. So the last thing you want in a competitive leisure market is someone from an old boy's network who is an old boy. It won't work because running sport today is different to even 4 or 5 years ago. And you cannot have someone from the old boys' network. Somebody might apply because someone in the network might say that's a good job but in today's world, you can't do it.

The influential nature of old boys' and old girls' networks provided access to power and influence for select individuals. As old boys' networks were formed at higher, national levels within the organisations, it may be suggested that, overall, men's networks were influential. This compares to women's networks, which were largely found at lower, district levels, or in minority branches of the various sports. This corroborated Brass' (1985) comment that; "because men have historically dominated high-level hierarchical positions, women are less likely than men to be included in these informal, high level interactions" (p. 329). Within the NGBs, and specifically within NGBs A and C, women's networks, while predominant, were not as influential as men's. For example, as noted in Chapter 5, women's voluntary networks were less powerful than men's professional networks. Within the men's voluntary sector, as noted in NGB A, the predominance of nepotistic practices, through which past Presidents could elect each other was evident. It is possible that, by electing their peers and colleagues, the past Presidents reiterated their own power and recreated powerful discourses within the organisation, thus supporting Foucault's (1972) suggestion that power may be created through the reinforcement and protection of traditional practices. He suggested that power may be created as traditional forms of knowledge are accepted as; "pre-existing forms of continuity ... that are accepted without question" (Foucault, 1972, p. 25). In NGBs A and C, networks were established as an intrinsic part of the organisations, 'accepted without question' and thus unchallenged and powerful. As such, influential individuals within NGBs A and C also managed to exclude both young men and women of any age from such powerful positions and thus exclude 'outsiders' with impunity.

Yet the dominance of such networks was challenged to a certain extent. Following Foucault's (1972) analysis, it may be suggested that; "the tranquillity with which they are accepted [was] disturbed" (p. 25). In NGBs A and C, such resistance occurred in the frustration of professionals and within old girls' networks. Foucault (1984b) has suggested that challenges to dominant discourses may be developed through local knowledge, which may in turn critique societal practices. In the case of NGBs A and C, it appeared that the critiques, which were expressed about old boys' networks by old girls and professionals, were based on concern about the inefficiency of organisations that were based on discriminatory, exclusionary discourses. It appeared that this resistance, however, could not overcome the overall, traditional influence of old boys' networks. Following Hultin and Szulkin's (1999) argument, it is possible to therefore suggest that; "women are less central than are men in those networks in which organizational power is located" (p. 459). Women were consequently unable to fully challenge the networks as they were unable to access the committees through which such networks operated. This indicated that such 'local knowledge' was not influential enough to promote resistance to the men's networks. Nor were men who were not 'in the loop' able to access these networks. This apparent limitation of the effectiveness of local resistance may be identified as the prevalence of dominant discourses. From a Foucauldian (1984b) perspective, it may be understood that; "from this point of view the theoretical and practical experience ... we have of our limits and the possibility of moving beyond them is always limited and determined" (p. 47) This view of 'reality' may be applied to the organisations in terms of limits to the success of challenges to male dominated networks.

As Connell (1995) has suggested, however, it is too superficial to claim that 'men have power over women'. Old girls' networks ensured that some women were able to gain influence within the NGBs, often at the expense of men. Claims that were made by women in a predominantly female branch of NGB A, who identified men in coaching positions as 'perverts', ensured that these coaches were excluded from such roles. This added another dimension to the discussion of the creation of gender power relations in the NGBs for it may be argued that labelling men as such was an aggressive tactic. This reinforced Martin's (1996) view that some women in power behave in a specific manner, which may be understood as masculine. Kerfoot and Knights (1998) have identified that women who are powerful may be so because of their appropriation of masculine discourses. This was embodied in the expression of exclusion of men by the old girls' networks in NGB A and contrasted to co-operative, 'alternative' styles of management, which have been associated by Kerfoot and Knights (1998) and Alvesson and Billing (1997) with some women's management styles.

In terms of creating power relations, therefore, women's appropriation of masculinities in their exclusion of men could be understood as something of a puzzle. It may be suggested that women reinforced the dominance of such aggressive, masculine discourses within

organisations by their actions within networks. Their actions may, however, also be interpreted as resistance to dominance, as they indicated that some women were able to access influential roles in organisations. In so doing, women challenged the association that is often made between women and feminine discourses and subsequently with lowly positions within organisations' hierarchies (Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998). This suggests that the construction of the gender specific attributes of masculinities and femininities, while developing from gender role theory, may still fall short of explaining gender relations within organisations. In order to further such analyses, these concepts may need to be developed, as will be discussed in the Chapter 9. The complexities of women's 'masculine' behaviour did, however, further highlight the relationships between discourses that, as Foucault (1979) has argued, is central to the understanding of power. Following Foucault's (1979) argument, power is not; "something that is acquired, seized or shared" (p. 94) but a relational entity within which resistance is integral. This was expressed in women's resistance to men's dominance of masculine discourses within the NGBs. Further resistance by dominant discourses was expressed through the continuing dominance of masculinity as a result of some women's actions. In keeping with Foucault's (1984b) analysis of power, therefore, dominant, masculine discourses prevailed within the organisations in the research period. This may change, if individuals wish it and act accordingly. The dominance of behaviour that is associated with masculinity will not, however, be challenged until members of networks wish to pursue alternative management styles. This is discussed more fully in the following chapter.

The exclusionary nature of single sex networks also contributed to the challenges that were faced in the creation and implementation of gender equity policies within the NGBs (Chapter 7). As Hultin and Szulkin (1999) have indicated, these networks excluded people of the opposite sex, and thus reduced the access to social networks within the organisations. Brass (1985) has suggested, furthermore, that through the enclosed, exclusive nature of networks, individuals were able to reinforce their own power at the expense of other individuals and vilify those who were not perceived to belong within them. Far from challenging the exclusionary discourses that made them influential, individuals used networks to reinforce their power. As Foucault (1972) has suggested, therefore, power was created through the reiteration and substantiation of specific, influential, in this case masculine, discourses within the old boys and old girls networks. The protection of dominant discourses, which favoured influential women and men, ensured that single sex networks were highly resistant to change. This characteristic ensured that they successfully challenged alternatives to traditional gender relations.

There were, however, challenges to the influence held within the networks, indicating some micro resistance to the dominance of single sex organisational networking. This was expressed through some professional members' frustration at the influence of single sex networks. The informal, individual nature of this resistance indicated the presence of local

knowledge that challenged the dominant discourses of the NGBs. In so doing, individuals expressed the individual, incremental resistance that Foucault (1984b) has argued is central to resistance and thus change. By developing such discourses, it is possible to critique and thus shift the emphasis of power away from dominant views and enable the expression of alternate ideas. These challenges were, however, passive in the NGBs, taking the form of complaining about the networks. No method was articulated for taking those concerns further. Foucault's (1984b) focus on resistance through individual, local resistance therefore appears to, in the case of networking, fall short of indicating how change may develop. He did however, suggest that, in the face of criticism about the prevalence of dominant discourses, resistance may be created. This will occur, Foucault (1984b) argued, if individuals focus less on the; "conditions that determine them without their knowledge [i.e. dominant discourses] but rather on what [individuals] do and how they do it" (p. 48) In suggesting this development of resistance, Foucault (1984b) therefore proposed that it is the responsibility of individuals to virtually ignore the dominance of certain social structures and focus on their own individual critiques of society and reactions to that. For gender relations, therefore, it may be that individuals may choose somehow to ignore the overall dominance of men but continue to act in women's interests. Such a division of dominant discourses is, however, highly problematic and is discussed further in Chapter 9.

The analysis of old boys' and old girls' networks has identified how they prevailed within the organisations. These networks were based on largely unquestioned historical premises, which mainly enabled men to access powerful voluntary positions and, crucially, to keep those at the expense of women. Where women were able to access such positions, they often did so by emulating masculine behaviour, thus while expressing resistance, they also reinforced masculinities. As such, resistance to the dominance of men and masculinities within the networks was rare. Although Foucault (1984b) has suggested that resistance in such circumstances may come about, it was not clear how this could develop in the NGBs at the time of the research. The ramifications of this and Foucault's theories on resistance are expanded further in the conclusions chapter.

The use of humour

Although humour was rarely articulated within the interviews, it was occasionally used by respondents as an 'ice breaker' or to avoid sensitive issues relating to gender relations. When a representative of NGB B was asked how the policy could be; "monitored and evaluated" (NGB B, 1999), the response, as noted in my research diary, was; "he laughed and said that they would follow it up. He gave a huge smirk, laughed, and said 'honest guv!' He then said; 'no, it's hard to do' and fled from the room." In another setting, during an 'Equity Working Group' for NGB A, a participant in the group said, after the introductory comments; "oh equity! I thought when [the Chair] said equity, I was coming to talk about my stocks and shares!" Another

respondent, referring to the Chief Executive, highlighted the use of humour within NGB A. She said; “he tends not to be too PC [politically correct]. I think he says it just for a laugh.” A final example of attempted humour was illustrated in NGB C, where two senior male members of staff engaged in what I perceived to be a light hearted attempt to irritate me. The Financial Director would occasionally make a loud sexist comment when I entered the room and then say; “oh I didn’t mean to say that when Sally is here.” The Chief Executive Officer, when questioned about the occurrence of women in non-executive positions, said; “yeah and that’s where they belong, no sorry, just kidding.”

Few of the respondents appeared to be relaxed when talking about gender issues and used humour to divert from them. Collinson (1992) suggested that humour may have been used to ‘defuse’ an uncomfortable situation. When the respondent from NGB B suggested that ‘honest guv’ they would evaluate the equity policy, he was using a colloquial form of sarcasm. By doing this, he set up a situation in which he was then able to say more ‘seriously’ that despite the difficulties in monitoring, NGB B would set up some form of evaluation. Thus, by establishing a joke, he was then able to show his ‘serious side’ as a contrast. Another reading of this situation could indicate that the respondent was embarrassed at contravening NGB B’s policy. In line with Collinson’s (1992) analysis of humour, it may be suggested that, by making a joke, he was able to avoid further discomfort. Following Foucault (1980), it may be proposed that influential individuals were therefore able to; “produce a régime of truth: that is the types of discourse which [they] accept and make function as true” (p. 131) For, it is hard to challenge ideas that are expressed in a humorous fashion. By using humour, these respondents could therefore air views that were hard to challenge, purely because they were expressed as jokes.

Other respondents appeared to use humour to cover insecurity about a lack of knowledge about gender equity. For example, the joke about ‘stocks and shares’ appeared to have been made to put the respondent in a controlling situation, attempting to set a light-hearted tone in the meeting. Foucault (1980) has indicated how, in the creation of history, one specific, dominant version of a topic may be highlighted. Such a dominant view is produced; “by the virtue of multiple forms of constraint” (Foucault, 1980, p. 131). The respondent in this situation was able to ‘constrain’ the conversation by introducing ‘humour’. By ‘constraining’ discussions about gender equity to frivolous jokes, the ‘seriousness’ of equity was once again diluted within the NGBs. Humour was therefore used, deliberately or inadvertently to reinforce dominant discourses and undermine challenges to them, which could have been expressed through gender equity policies. Foucault (1980) has suggested that certain individuals are accorded; “the status of [being] charged with saying what counts as true” (p. 131). In the conversation about gender equity, one man had enough influence to turn the discussion into a joke. This was an example of the organisational contempt that was held for equity policies, serving to further undermine them, and thus prevent challenges to discriminatory gender relations.

In NGB C, humour was used to challenge conformity (Collinson, 1992). Following Collinson's (1992) arguments it may be suggested that the instances noted above were intended to ascertain whether or not I could 'take a joke'. Such an initiation may be understood by referring to Collinson's (1992) analysis, in which he suggested that; "workers are expected to be aggressive, critical and disrespectful, so as to create embarrassment in others. This is the symbolic scalp of the successful 'piss take'" (p. 110). Collinson (1992) therefore suggested that to be able to negotiate such comments, a new colleague, or in my case a visitor, may be found to be 'worthy' of the time and energy of people within the organisation. Had I reacted 'wrongly', i.e. coldly or angrily, to these comments, I believe that I would have lost credibility within the organisation. I managed, however, to negotiate these 'rights of passage' and continue with a good relationship within NGB C. Not only did such comments 'test' me, they also showed how humour may be used skilfully to create a version of organisational truth. In short, individuals may have made jokes about my presence in NGB C to hint that, as they were joking, they could 'never' make such derogatory comments in a serious vein.

The development of dress codes

Dress codes were used within the organisation to indicate influence and status. For example, in NGB A, the President wore an ornamental chain that was similar to a mayoral chain. In NGB C, a tie with the organisational motif was worn by some men and was perceived to show 'belonging' within the organisation. The President of NGB B reinforced the importance of complying with dress codes in the organisation. She suggested that it was important for women to conduct themselves in a certain way in order to 'use' femininity to achieve their aims. She said; "I can brush up and do all the right things, stand two steps behind and tease [organisation] members and be generally reasonably charming and do some fancy footwork if they want to pin you in a corner and do things they shouldn't be doing." As well as indicating 'belonging' to an organisation, dress codes also indicated exclusion. For example, one woman outlined the 'unsuitability' of another due to her 'inappropriate' dress codes. She said;

mind you, she wasn't suitable because if you are going to represent our country, you cannot do it with green hair and orange shoes ... presentation is the name of the game. And she's a big girl ... you just have to learn to dress for the occasion ... a lot of people were against her from the start with her dynamic way of dress and red hair ... I had the biggest shock of my life when I saw her dressed up for the first time, I couldn't believe it.

Power was identified through dress codes, such as the creation of a 'Presidential chain' in NGB A or a tie that signified association within NGB C. Conversely, women did not wear ties in NGB C and were rarely included in the leadership discourses that were symbolised by the Presidential chain, thus they were excluded from this particular sense of belonging. The protection of such trinkets, therefore, may be understood to exclude women from the organisations. Both Sheppard (1989) and Adkins (1992) have suggested how women's clothes

and the ways in which they are worn may indicate how they are excluded or included. For Adkins (1992), women may be excluded from wearing certain items and are thus not associated with influence. In the NGBs, this was evident in wearing an organisational tie, which was clearly not an option for most women. For Foucault (1979), the historical influence of such attire was significant, for example, the creation of doctors' and lawyers' clothing in order to express power. As in many instances within this research the protection of such organisational practices was considered to be essential, reinforcing Foucault's (1979) assertion that the defence of traditional clothing may be considered important to the defence of power within organisations. Foucault (1972) argued, however, that such traditions must be challenged in order to disrupt and change traditional power relations. He proposed that critiques of traditions must show that they are; "always the result of a construction of rules which must be known and the justifications of which must be scrutinized" (Foucault, 1972, p. 25). In the case of exclusionary dress codes, therefore, the 'rules' by which such traditions have been established must be questioned within the NGBs if they are to be changed and women are to be included within the powerful networks that are designated by particular styles of dress.

The President of NGB B expressed how women were able to gain influence within gender power relations by dressing in a certain way. She was able to 'brush up' and use this to assert her power whenever she felt it necessary. She hinted that she used her sexuality to influence powerful men. In contrast to the women in NGB C's marketing tactics (Chapter 6), she was in control of the situation. Thus, she expressed her 'feminine side' in a 'masculine' way, to challenge the men in the organisation and express resistance to their influential positions. A contradiction is evident here to the claims of Kerfoot and Knights (1998). They associated femininity with passivity, which was clearly not the case with the President of NGB B, as she used it in a very active way to gain political influence. Within such an expression of femininity, it is possible to identify resistance to the dominant link with passivity in gender relations. This may have been cause for optimism in the challenge to gender relations, however, such resistance was expressed through masculine discourses, which have been identified as central to influence (Chapter 6). Gender relations were therefore not fully challenged through the expression of masculinities by women. The apparent necessity for women in power to express it through masculine discourses questions whether the definitions of masculinity and femininity are useful in developing the analysis of gender relations. For, within such an analysis, women's powerful actions are only understood through masculine discourses. It is necessary to progress from this and develop an understanding of powerful women's actions in which they are understood as women, not as 'pseudo-men'. This is addressed in the following chapter.

Although some women and some men were able to express power through their dress codes, others who contravened these informal codes were ridiculed, became uninfluential, and

were excluded from organisational networks. This was the case where the woman in NGB B, with 'green hair and orange shoes' was unsuccessful in her bid to represent the organisation. Despite the views on equity that were expressed consistently by members of NGB B within this research, the discourses through which her dress sense was described was far from equitable. As McDonald (2000) has argued, women are able to express themselves more freely than in previous decades but within parameters that are set by particular masculine views of the world. Although men's dress codes were not mentioned all the male respondents wore a shirt and tie, thus indicating that more expressive forms of masculine behaviours were also patrolled and that McDonald's (2000) argument holds for men as well as women. Individuals may, however, choose to express local resistance (Foucault, 1984b), in this case to dress codes. In so doing, dominant discourses may be challenged and eventually changed. In this situation, however, Foucault's (1984b) acknowledgement of reality as a caveat to resistance was evident, for once certain boundaries of dress or 'taste' were crossed, individuals' actions were questioned and ridiculed by those who expressed dominant discourses in the NGBs. Such long term domination of certain discourses is therefore understood by Foucault (1984b) to be inevitable. Women's influence within the creation of gender relations was therefore once again limited by societal norms about their expected behaviour. Despite this inevitability of the influence of dominant discourses, Foucault (1984b) continued to urge individuals to ask the question; "how are we constituted as subjects who exercise or submit to power relations?" (p. 49). If individuals within the NGBs continue to ask such questions, and hence critique the traditions of the organisations, then there may be a potential for change within gender relations.

Concluding comments

Networking was therefore evident within the NGBs in this research. Single sex networks were defended in an aggressively masculine way, thus calling into question the 'naturalness' of women who expressed masculine, aggressive discourses (Kerfoot and Whitehead, 1998). Organisational networks also served to undermine gender equity policies further and thus once again questioned their usefulness within the organisations. Humour was used to control networking situations in which gender equity or other components of gender relations were addressed. It was used to assess me within interviews and to ascertain whether I had any credibility within the organisations. Finally, through dress codes, some women and men were able to express and access influence. For others, their dress sense undermined their positions within the organisations. There was little evident resistance to these discrepancies, thus questioning the Foucauldian view that resistance is 'everywhere' (Foucault, 1979). Despite this, it is possible, following Foucault's (1984b) arguments that resistance may be developed within the NGBs to challenge gender power relations. How and whether this is feasible within the organisations forms part of the conclusions chapter, to which I now turn.

Chapter nine: Conclusions

This final chapter of the thesis is divided into two sections. In the first, I address the conclusions that may be reached from this research. I then 'revisit' the research and suggest that while its framework went some way to addressing the construction of gender power relations in the NGBs, it also had identifiable shortcomings. These limited the ability of the research to provide a foundation for exploring and explaining these relationships. In the light of this, I discuss adaptations and alternatives to the adopted framework.

Conclusions from the research

The purpose of this research was to analyse gender power relations in sport organisations. It was argued that such relations are power relationships in which, following Foucault (1972, 1979, 1980, 1984b), resistance is integral. The research focused specifically on the construction of gender relations in NGBs, which was identified as the result of interaction between dominant and resistant discourses in organisational practices. The aim of this was to analyse the complexities of gender power relationships, rather than a focus on a meta-approach which suggests that 'all men' dominate 'all women' (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). The research was timely as it coincided with recent trends towards the adoption of 'professional' management techniques and the increased profile of gender equity issues within the NGBs' agendas (Sport England, 2000).

The analysis focused on four organisational practices, namely the creation of organisational histories; the creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities; the creation and implementation of gender equity policies; and organisational networking. From the examination of the discourses that were expressed within these practices, four main conclusions may be reached. These were, historically constructed knowledge was central to the creation of gender power relations; socially constructed knowledge was expressed in the creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities; equity policies failed to challenge historically and socially constructed gender power relations; and organisational networking reinforced dominant gender power relations. Resistant discourses were identified within each of these lines of enquiry. Specific limitations of the analysis of resistance are addressed at the beginning of the second section.

Historically constructed knowledge

The analysis of historically constructed knowledge was facilitated through the examination of the expression of multiple histories in the organisations (Foucault 1972; Vertinsky 1994). It was possible to conclude from the analysis of multiple histories that 'knowledge' about women's and men's abilities was developed during the histories of each of the NGBs. This creation process was often conducted by men, contributing to the male-centred nature of the histories of the three organisations. Martin's (2000) assertion that a male

dominated view of an organisation may marginalise others was thus reinforced. These findings also paralleled Calás and Smircich's (1992b)'s arguments, in which they stated that language and organisational practices are influenced predominantly by men within organisations. These influences gained in power in the organisations as they were infrequently challenged. As such power was created through iterative processes, it was hard to challenge to develop equitable gender relations. In addition to this, the fierce protection of traditional practices was expressed both by women and men, thus collaborating with Foucault's (1972) assertion that power is constructed and reiterated through the historical development of knowledge. Foucault (1972) suggested that such power is stable and emerges as the; "principle of unity"(p. 22). As 'unity' is hard to resist, so such power often remains unchallenged. Within the NGBs, the stability of such historically created power was understood to be linked to the significance of traditional practices. These included the predominance of a male Presidents in NGB A, or the dominance associated with the professionalised men's Association, and the relative lack of influence accorded to the voluntary women's Association before the merger of NGB C.

Despite the dominance of certain historical practices, resistance emerged within the data, and Foucault's (1979) arguments on the relational nature of power were established. For example, women created their own clubs in NGBs A and C. The data therefore demonstrated that, as Foucault (1980) has suggested, resistance may be established from the 'bottom up' i.e. by individuals who affect the macro level of society, or in the case of organisations, policy. This was further evidenced in the more robust resistance to derogatory discourses concerning women's involvement in organisations, which was expressed within NGB B. In this organisation, individuals' versions of histories highlighted the need to be aware of, and avoid, the potential for discrimination within the organisation. This may have been, as Baron et al. (1991) have argued, linked to the youth of the organisation. In addition, attempts by individuals within the organisation to appropriate an equitable philosophy from the start, and the dominance in the early stages of women in the event itself ensured that more inclusive views were developed. As Foucault (1972) argued, the development of such discourses ensured that they were influential. Through processes of development, equitable discourses became powerful within NGB B. Even within this power relationship, there was resistance, as some individuals preferred to develop the influence of men within the organisations. Foucault's (1972) analysis of the complexity and relational nature of power relations was thus expressed through this relationship.

Socially constructed knowledge

Through the analysis of gender roles in the organisations, it was shown that, as Acker (1992) has suggested, there were very few women in high levels of management within the NGBs. Most women within the organisations were in 'private' managerial or administrative jobs, which as Reed (1996) has indicated are not highly valued in organisations. The

organisations in this research therefore mirrored Martin's (1996) view that women are largely undervalued. This analysis alone, however, did not tell the whole story, as gender relations were reinforced by the associations made by individuals within the organisations. These associations, as Kerfoot and Whitehead (1998) have indicated, linked some men with highly valued masculine discourses such as leadership and business acumen. Other groups of men, who did not embrace such discourses were marginalised. The characteristics that were associated with femininities, whether expressed by women or men, ensured that feminine discourses, and those who expressed them, were relatively powerless within the organisations.

In a manner consistent with other areas of the research, and with Foucault's (1979) analysis of power relations, resistance was articulated the dominance of men and masculinities. This was expressed through a variety of actions and took the form of isolated instances of the articulation of femininities such as the President of NGB B's manipulation of influential, male, organisational members. Such actions indicated resistance to the 'norms' of many organisations and in so doing, they also challenged Kerfoot and Knights' (1998) assertion that feminine discourses are weak. This raises questions over the suitability of 'masculine' and 'feminine' discourses as foci of analysis in gender relations, for, while developing from gender role theory, they do not fully account for men's and women's actions. This is addressed further in the second section of this chapter. Challenges were also expressed to the dominance of men's appropriation of masculinities through the determination of some women to enter coaching jobs or to be successful at a high level of administration. As Martin (1996) has suggested, therefore, the expression of masculinities by women increased their dominance within organisational management practices. In so doing, however, women were frequently ridiculed and undermined for not expressing 'traditional' feminine discourses, such as prioritising family. While enabling women to gain access to influential organisational positions, the appropriation of masculinities was also a 'double edged sword' ensuring that some of the powerful women in the NGBs were treated as 'non-women'. In order to overcome this, Martin (2000) has suggested that the dominance of masculinities themselves must be challenged by women and men in the organisations. In adopting this view, and far from 'blaming the victim' and suggesting that women should only appropriate devalued femininities, this research suggests, in the second section of this chapter, that this is necessary to promote the acceptance of femininities within the management of NGBs.

The failure of gender equity policies

Foucault (1980) suggested that macro or policy levels of imposed power may influence individuals. This was reinforced in the research as the dominance of men and specific, dominant masculinities was barely challenged by the creation of gender equity policies in each of the three NGBs. Sport England's influence on the creation of the discourses that were embodied within equity policies created confusion between gender equity and equality. As Mills (1993)

has argued, this is commonplace and enables organisations to disguise the pursuit of equality as equity. Frustration was expressed at the homogeneous nature of gender equity policies, for, as Alvesson and Billing (1992) have suggested, a lack of acknowledgement of heterogeneity ensured that equity policies were superficial. For many of the individuals within the research this was perceived as symptomatic of Sport England's aversion to accepting the organisations as heterogeneous. Knowledge has therefore been created about the content of equity policies, which was protected from alternative, critical views such as those proposed by Mills (1993). This has thus increased Sport England's power as an authority on such policies. Following Foucault (1980), the construction of 'truth' by Sport England on the content of equity policies was accepted by the NGBs because; "[truth] is subject to constant economic and political incitement" (p. 131). As such, the NGBs' largely unquestioning following of Sport England's policies is linked to their economic interests, i.e. to be one of the approximately thirty organisations that are selected for funding. Moreover, this economic stability is linked to political interest, for as the Sydney 2000 Olympic games indicated, it is the NGBs who are well funded that perform well and win medals, which is crucial to the political interests and status of individuals within the sporting world. The loyal pursuit of 'equity' in the form of equality, as outlined by Sport England, therefore has great ramifications for the financial interests of NGBs.

The lack of credibility that was accorded to gender equity policies prompted some individuals to criticise them. Micro resistance was therefore evident as individuals' comments may be understood to have come from the 'bottom up' within the NGBs (Foucault, 1980). Foucault (1980) has suggested that such resistance is key to change, for it is based on local, individual knowledge, rather than the overarching meta-narratives of critical theory. As such, individuals have a specific knowledge of the societal issues that they may wish to change. In the NGBs, however, such challenges were expressed passively, through perceptions that gender equity policies were a waste of time and uninfluential. Paradoxically, the dominant discourses that were inherent in gender equity policies served to reinforce gender power relations rather than challenge them. There was, therefore, a lack of evidence of micro resistance having an impact on dominant discourses.

The evidence that points towards the apparent ineffectiveness of micro resistance to change equity policies may be explored through a brief analysis of the document *Making English sport inclusive: Equity guidelines for governing bodies* (Sport England, 2000), which was published after the research period. The introduction to the more recent document was entitled; "a generic approach to sports equity" (Sport England, 2000, p. 3), thus reiterating the seemingly untenable 'sport for all' policy of *England, the sporting nation* (English Sports Council, 1997a). Within *Making English sport inclusive* (Sport England, 2000), a misleading and incorrect attempt was made to explain the differences between equity and equal opportunities. The assertion was made that; "equal opportunities ... include such issues as

recruitment and selection ... equity is the specific requirements of all the different priority groups” (Sport England, 2000, p. 4). Despite an emphasis on the importance of equity, the discourses that were expressed in the policy returned to measuring equality. It was stated that; “it should be noted that equal opportunities is not an optional extra.” In terms of quantifying ‘equity’, equality measures were suggested in the document. It was stated that; “statistics reveal a number of inequalities ...” (Sport England, 2000, p. 23). As Mills (1993) has suggested, a confusion over equity and equality is central to many organisations, devaluing the potential of equity policies. Such contradictions appear to be central to *Making English sport inclusive* (Sport England, 2000). The future of equity within English sport was therefore constructed through similar conflicting and confusing discourses that were little different to those expressed in 1997. It would therefore appear that change in the development and implementation of gender equity policies is still some way off within the NGBs.

Organisational Networking

The organisational practice of networking reinforced many of the above conclusions and led to the development of others. For example, organisational networks were historically created and the discourses that were expressed within them were, as Foucault (1972) has suggested, held in high regard. Those individuals who were established within networks were subsequently influential, thus reinforcing Woodward’s (1996) assertion that power is linked to networking. The dominance of masculinities was reinforced within networking as both women and men exhibited exclusionary practices. This reinforced Kerfoot and Knight’s (1998) suggestions that masculinities, whether expressed by women or men, are influential. The discourses that were expressed in networking provided further challenges to gender equity policies, as individuals were clearly able to favour one sex over another in their old boys’ and old girls’ clubs. As Brass (1985) has indicated single sex networks are most influential and their influence directly contradicts the aims of equity policies.

The analysis of organisational networking also led to specific conclusions. In line with Collinson et al. (1990), humour was used to deflect attention away from discriminatory practices in networks. It was particularly useful for interviewees to use it to ‘test’ me within NGB C. Although Foucault did not specifically address humour, it may be argued that humour was used to create ‘truth’ which, because it was expressed as humour, was very hard to challenge within a social setting. Humour was also used by certain individuals to constrain conversations, thus directing conversations away from equity and onto more lighthearted subjects. Additionally, women’s and men’s dress codes were informally patrolled by senior managers to control the suitability of dress. This ensured that women and men who decided to dress ‘unconventionally’ were ridiculed by their peers. Discourses that were expressed in humour and dress codes reinforced the creation of dominant gender power relations in the sport

organisations in this research. Dominant gender power relations were therefore reinforced through organisational networking.

The organisational practices that were inherent in networking were challenged by a number of individuals who suggested that change was required. Once again, resistance was identified at the 'micro' level, expressed by a few individuals who chose to express resistance at a local level. According to Foucault (1984b) such resistance may cause change through challenges to dominant discourses. Yet, such actions were not encouraged by the NGBs and therefore did not have much effect on the organisations, thus contradicting Foucault's (1980) assertions that individual resistance can promote change. While some of these shortcomings were addressed in Foucault's (1984b) later work, limitations were identified concerning its temporal nature. That is, within the NGBs, time was critical in terms of producing change within a set period. Foucault (1984b), did not address the pressures which time constraints may place on the development of change. Without more structure and focus concerning the temporal aspects of resistance, his views may not have the 'realism' that is required for organisations such as the NGBs in this research. These and other concerns are discussed in the following section

The way forward? Alternative approaches to the investigation, understanding, and potential transformation of gender relations

The ability to reflect on, question, and develop research is central to the qualitative paradigm and to Foucauldian approaches to analysis (Foucault, 1972). Consequently, in this section, I outline the shortcomings of the theoretical framework and aspects of the methodology and research design. These reflections comprise six sections, the limitations of a Foucauldian analysis of resistance; the centrality of dominant discourses in the research; the usefulness of analysing masculinities and femininities; the decision to focus on organisational practices; areas of future research; and alternative research methods. I address each of these in turn.

Limitations of a Foucauldian analysis of resistance

For Foucault (1979), resistance developed from the 'bottom up' gradually affecting individuals until change slowly progressed into areas of influence. His writing on this topic was optimistic, suggesting that change was a process that would ultimately occur, even if it took some time (Foucault, 1972; 1979; 1984b). Resistance to dominant discourses was clearly expressed by individuals in the creation of gender relations in this research. This reinforced some of Foucault's arguments and thus indicated that a Foucauldian approach to power has some credibility. It is uncertain, however, given the 'top down', dictatorial style of Sport England and the NGBs, whether resistance at a micro level will have significant effects on the creation of gender power relations. For, even where individuals who favoured gender equity were evident within NGBs, funding for their jobs and their sport depended on following policies

that were prescribed by Sport England. It is therefore debatable whether the avenues for change from the 'bottom up' were in place in the NGBs. Foucault's analysis of resistance and its potential to develop change may therefore be overly utopian for the daily pressures that were evident in the management of the NGBs. Foucault (1984b) answered similar criticisms in *What is Enlightenment?*, suggesting that however influential dominant discourses may be, local resistance may produce change. Foucault's (1984b) analysis did not, however, fully take into account the influence of political pressures in organisations. In this research, these included funding pressures such as those placed by Sport England, internal organisational interactions, and the personal agendas of individuals. As McNeil (1993) has suggested, it is necessary to be aware of all such issues in an analysis of power. She stated that; "[the analysis of power] is a matter of pointing out, on what kind of assumptions, what kind of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices [that] we accept rest" (McNeil, 1993, p158).

While Foucault (1979) acknowledged the multiplicity of discourses, there was no acknowledgement of the temporal dimension of resistance within his work. Within the NGBs, pressures of time were evident and planning had a limit of 3-5 years. If change has not occurred in that timeframe, then it is no longer pursued. For Foucault (1984b) there were no such similar acknowledgements of time. Rather, Foucault (1984b) articulated the somewhat forlorn hope that resistance may continue to be expressed by individuals for as long as change may need to develop, however strong dominant discourses may appear to be. This may be the case but political pressures on the NGBs ensured that they had to acknowledge the amount of time that resistance to dominant discourses would take to develop change. It is therefore necessary to develop theories by which the complexities of the development of resistance and its temporal dimension, might be acknowledged.

While resistance was evident in the creation of gender power relations, it was not necessarily all positive for the promotion of inclusive gender relations in the NGBs. For example, in NGB B, resistance was expressed by some individuals against attempts to create an equitable environment. It is possible therefore, that while resistance in NGBs A and C may lead to more equitable behaviour in the future, in NGB B, the success of resistance to dominant discourses may mean the opposite. Resistance was, unlike much of Foucault's (1972, 1979) arguments, not only concerned with encouraging positive change within organisations. As McNay (1992) has suggested, Foucault's theories do not necessarily adequately theorise 'negative resistance'. This indicated a shortcoming in the research, for, as it was reliant on Foucault's theory, there was a lack of explanation of this specific form of resistance. Alternatives to Foucault's analysis of power may therefore indicate how such analyses may develop (Clegg, 1989). Clegg (1989) has indicated how resistance may be negative and thus might provide a useful alternative to Foucault in this situation. The focus for Clegg (1989), however, is that resistance is *always* negative, thus it should be repressed within organisations.

Others, such as Collinson (1992) have indicated that resistance may be negative but in reaction to unfair working practices. Collinson (1992) therefore showed how resistance may be used to demonstrate challenges to poor management. While presenting an alternative to Clegg (1989), Collinson (1992) does not explain why pro-active management practices would be challenged by negative resistance. As such, Collinson's (1992) analysis would not adequately explain the occurrence of 'negative resistance' in NGB B. Further research is thus required that combines the potential for resistance to be positive and negative within organisations, rather than the dichotomy of positive or negative resistance that appears to have developed in the literature.

The centrality of dominant discourses in the research

The analysis of dominant discourses enabled the examination of gender power relations (Foucault, 1979). It is acknowledged here that resistance within gender power relations could have been addressed as central to the analysis, rather than in comparison to dominant discourses. For example, in the analysis of 'histories', women's histories would have been central to the analysis, rather than their reactions to male dominated histories. This would have followed the examples set by feminist writers in the sociology of sport literature, such as Hall (1996) whose research has centred on women and men who resist dominant power discourses. It has been suggested that such an approach; "adopts an unequivocal women-centred perspective that recognizes and celebrates differences among women and at the same time questions male dominated and male defined sport" (Hall, 1996, p. 91). With relation to this research, a primary focus on resistance would perhaps have highlighted more instances of resistance and subsequent repercussions for the development of equity in NGBs. It could also have adequately indicated how resistance may exist within political and personal pressures. As a preliminary study of its kind in sport management, however, there was a need to establish exactly what the dominant discourses were in order to contrast resistance to them. Future studies should arguably therefore focus on resistance within the organisations, rather than the creation of dominant discourses of gender power relations. Crucially, such studies may make greater specific contributions in terms of pointing to areas of change within the NGBs, thus addressing one of the shortcomings of this research. The impact of this on further research is developed below.

The analysis of masculinities and femininities

The analysis of masculinities and femininities was central to Chapter 6 and also featured at various other points throughout the research. As Kerfoot and Knights (1998) have suggested, this concept provided a more flexible tool than a focus on 'gender roles' for analysing socially constructed assumptions about women's and men's behaviours. I had concerns during the data analysis about the terms 'masculinities' and 'femininities'. Women expressed masculinities that were identified as being central to their promotion opportunities. In doing so, they expressed; "rational forms of knowledge in western society" (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998, p. 13), which have been closely associated with men. This articulation of knowledge by women has also been

identified or interpreted as; “illegitimate and/or unattractive” (Martin, 1996, p. 191). By defining women’s appropriation of rational forms of knowledge in this way, they were identified both by organisational members and within the literature as ‘non-women’ or masculine. This was not helpful in attempts to ‘normalise’ women’s presence in management positions. The resulting problem is therefore how to analyse individuals’ behaviours in management without labelling them as ‘non-women’ or ‘non-men’, thus developing an acceptance of men in ‘feminine’ roles and women in traditionally ‘masculine’ positions.

It would appear that there are two alternatives to solving this conundrum. One is to favour the promotion of women centred management practices, in which femininities are valued (Martin, 1993). This approach, however, involves utopian visions about women’s ‘natural’ caring and compassionate management styles, which leads to stereotyping about ‘suitable’ roles for women and men (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). Another solution to this problem would be to attempt to challenge, or even discard, the dichotomous discourses that are created in Kerfoot and Knights’ (1998) view of masculinities and femininities. This polarised approach of defining women’s and men’s behaviours has progressed little from the analysis of gender roles and does not provide enough flexibility for analysing gender relations. In place of it, men’s and women’s behaviour could be viewed as a continuum in which dominant and competitive, as well as caring and compassionate, behaviours are a part. Expressions of managerial styles would not be identified as ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ but as a ‘legitimate’ part of women’s and men’s behaviour. Such conduct might not, therefore, be ridiculed or described as ‘illegitimate’ when articulated by women or men. By reducing the focus on the dichotomous expression of masculinities and femininities, it would be possible to reduce the emphasis on acceptable behaviours by women and men by deconstructing gender specific definitions.

This approach would, however, fail to change the underlying issue of competition, aggression, and intimidation as central features of many organisational practices. Attempts to challenge these discourses have been central to the views of some ‘alternative values’ theorists. They suggest that women bring entirely different discourses to organisations and; “take an anti-management stance ... more interested in developing alternative social institutions than integrating women in the existing ones” (Alvesson & Billing, 1997, p. 169). While attractive in their challenges to socially constructed organisational knowledge, these views are also often based on utopian visions of women, such as those expressed in *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy* (Ferguson, 1984). In this book, Ferguson (1984) suggested that the principle of ‘organisation’ was a homogenous, monolithic, repressive power, which should be ‘overthrown’ in a dramatic, revolutionary, feminist attack on modern organisations. Her thesis does not take account of the varieties of organisations, nor of the complexities of feminism, hence its unsuitability as a vehicle of change. A more realistic, less utopian hope is to use research such as this to determine methods by which individuals in organisations might highlight

discriminatory discourses that inform power relations. In so doing, women and men may become more attuned to organisational practices that devalue women's input. Thus, however the definitions of masculinities and femininities are defined or conceptualised, it is individuals in organisations who must want alternative discourses, if change and gender equity is to be taken seriously. This includes younger members of organisations, who as mentioned in Chapter 7, are not 'naturally' more aware of equity than their much maligned older colleagues.

Organisational practices

As was indicated in Chapter 2, the four organisational practices that were chosen for analysis were the creation of organisational histories, the creation of gender roles, masculinities and femininities, the creation and implementation of gender equity policies; and networking. While the analysis of these practices was useful, different perspectives could have provided more depth and been influential in this research. For example, in place of the analysis of specific gender roles, their pictorial representations could have been analysed such as that utilised by, amongst others, Cuneen and Sidwell (1998). This method could have been used to address the focus of particular marketing strategies and their integral, gendered discourses. A detailed analysis of marketing literature through such an examination and its impact on organisational members would have provided more insight into the images that were produced by the organisations, which were considered to be 'acceptable' to members.

The analysis of gender equity policies could have been strengthened with a detailed comparison with gender equity policies in other industries or in countries other than England. This would have enabled a contrast with relatively successful gender equity programmes such as those in Canada (Hall, 1996) and Australia (Hargreaves, 1994). An international approach may have indicated future avenues for change to the NGBs and enabled the discussion of an 'international', albeit 'western', view of gender power relations in sport organisations. It is acknowledged, however, that such an analysis would be expensive and would involve choices and selections, which might limit the research possibilities. This idea may be one of many that may be pursued in further research projects but in order to do so, would need to be specific, for example by focusing on one sport across a number of countries.

The analysis of networking also contributed to the overall research. The discourses that were intricately and subtly expressed by individuals in the organisations hinted at the informal 'politics' that were evident in the organisations. Had it been possible to gain greater, long term entry into the organisations, further evidence of networking could have been gathered. The analysis of gender power relations could thus have been enhanced with further analysis of discourses at the most 'informal' levels of the organisations. Few such opportunities, however, exist for academic researchers. There would, though, be merit in returning to the original research sites to examine long term changes within their organisational discourses.

In addition to this, the potentially detrimental affects of continual discrimination could have been a focus for this research. As discussed in Chapter 1, fewer women in organisational hierarchies may mean less commitment to gender equity policies (Baron et al., 1991), few role models for younger generations (Acosta & Carpenter, 1994), and a reinforcement of discriminatory discourses, which suggest that women are 'less able' than men to manage (Staurowsky, 1990). As individuals reproduce these discourses, they limit opportunities for many women and reduce the potential for women to bring multiple perspectives into the organisations. Thus, a focus on the potential losses for the organisations could have been useful for this research and may well provide ideas for future directions.

Finally, the analysis in this research focused on gender relations, barely addressing other forms of discriminatory discourses. Examples include ageism, racism, and discrimination against athletes with disabilities, all of which were hinted at within the NGBs. Future analyses that acknowledge these different perspectives would be sensitive to this oversight. They may also provide a more holistic approach, indicating power relations that discriminate against these marginalised groups (Hall, 1996). This would question the common, artificial analysis of discrimination against specific groups, which is evidenced in much of the literature and within organisational equity policies (Hall, 1996).

Areas of future research

The first step after the completion of this research project is to compile a summary of the findings for each NGB, in order to encourage individuals to act on some of the conclusions. These may include suggestions such as addressing language, education and awareness of equity issues, and the development of challenges to traditional roles, and changes in the organisations' structures to enable speedy adoption of new proposals. It was mentioned above that re-entry into the organisations after a period of time will enable some comparison and further analysis. Of particular interest will be NGB C after the termination of the 50% rule in 2003, the developments of NGB B as it struggles to reconcile professionalism and a commitment to equity, and the efforts by NGB A as its equity statement is developed. Parallel projects may also be possible, with my impending move to Canada, and comparative analysis may provide new and different insights, particularly if those comparisons use different structures for sport organisations. Further, different sectors within the UK such as private and voluntary organisations may provide alternative views. Other possible endeavours from this research may also include a focus on one particular organisational practice, such as the analysis of the development of equity policies and the direction taken by Sport England. In order to focus clearly on the interaction between Sport England and the NGBs, it will be necessary to engage directly with that organisation thus, hopefully, encouraging challenges to traditional practices. By addressing these projects as a collaborative endeavour, of benefit to both academic and sport management research, it may therefore be possible to develop mutually beneficial research.

Alternative research methods

In order to address the future research plans, alternative methods may be required. The methods that were employed in this research were primarily based on interviews, participant observation, fieldnotes, and documentary analysis. As such, they concentrated on asking questions of individuals, rather than specifically encouraging the respondents to engage with, and reflect upon, the research over a period of time. This may have limited the extent to which respondents were keen to participate and question their own values within the organisations. Alternative research methods, which would have challenged the respondents further, would include respondent diaries, focus groups, and possibly even some form of email 'chat room' in which organisation members could share ideas. This might have led to some discussion within the organisation about the research, rather than limiting awareness to the times when I was present. An overall strategy to develop the research methods in this research would be to emphasise the pursuit of collaboration with the organisations, emphasising a shared agenda for change. Limitations of these alternative methods are, of course, time based, along with the commitment by individuals to keep research diaries or share their views on email. If successful, however, such methods would encourage engagement with the research and thus possibly develop challenges to dominant organisational discourses.

Concluding comments

The study of gender power relations is complex, contradictory, and confusing. Despite the attentions of researchers to gender power relations and moves to integrate equity in organisations, there is resistance to change and the acceptance of the abilities of each sex by the other. It has been suggested that; "even as large numbers of women have entered the workforce, gender inequalities in organizations persist, preserving old patterns and mutating into new forms" (Martin, 2000, p. 207). This was undoubtedly the case in this research. Yet, despite the gloomy outlook expressed by Martin (2000), this thesis has contributed to the area by, as McNeil (1993) recommended, analysing dominant and resistant discourses that create gender power relations. Despite its limitations, this research has gone some way to developing the process of understanding, and potentially indicating some areas of future challenge to, gender power relations in sport organisations. Future research will develop some of the challenges that have been identified in this thesis and develop them, with the hope of continuing to challenge and possibly transform gender relations within sport organisations.

Appendix A: Initial letter to NGBs

NGB address

Date

Dear

I am writing to request your assistance and that [your organisation] in a research project which aims to understand the current nature of gender equity in National Governing Bodies of Sport in the UK. This project will form the basis of my post graduate thesis at De Montfort University and has arisen out of my interest in the effects of the English Sports Council's funding policies. As you are no doubt aware, funding is dependent, amongst other things, on evidence of established and effective policies relating to equity.

My suggestion is that I would work in a voluntary capacity within [your organisation] for a few days each month for a number of months from early 1999. My relevant work experience includes proficient word processing and clerking skills and a history of working in sports development. During my time with you, I would hope to develop some understanding of the [organisation] and the state of gender equity through interaction with your colleagues and a number of interviews. At the end of the period, I would aim to be able to give some help in policy formulation with relation to gender equity. Such assistance may be useful to your organisation in its ongoing development and specifically in relation to future funding proposals.

I hope that this proposal is of interest to you and would ask you to discuss it with other relevant colleagues at [your organisation]. I will follow up this letter with a telephone call in two weeks to answer any questions you have and to arrange a first meeting.

Yours sincerely

Sally Shaw
Research Student

Appendix B: Example of questions asked in interviews

1. Please give a description of your roles in [NGB]
2. Can you tell me something about the history of the organisation, and how the recent changes with funding have affected the NGB?
3. Do you think that there are gender equity issues within the NGB now?
4. What are they?
5. There appear to be more men than women in higher positions, why is this?
6. How do those who were established within the NGB take to the changes in funding priorities?

Specific questions for each NGB, for example:

NGB A:

There are a lot of women at administrative levels in Counties but not National level. Why is this?

How well is the career structure developed?

How well has NGB A adapted to changes in funding?

NGB B:

Why was the Women's Committee disbanded?

NGB B appears to have an equitable outlook, is this realistic? Why is this?

How do you see the future of NGB B now that the Women's Committee no longer exists?

NGB C:

What were the reasons for the merger?

How did the organisations take the changes?

How realistic is the 50% rule on volunteers?

What will happen after 2003?

Return to generic questions

7. What is the future of gender equity in the NGB?
8. What is your role in this?

Appendix C: Informed consent form

“Gender Relations in National Governing Bodies”

Researcher: Sally Shaw
Supervisors: Professor Trevor Slack;
Dr. Dawn Penney

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. Please take a few moments to read the following and, if you are agreement, to sign below. If you have any questions, please raise them with me.

I _____ agree to participate in the above research project being conducted by Sally Shaw into “Gender Equity in National Governing Bodies”. I agree to be interviewed by the researcher(s) and understand that the interviews will be audio taped and the interviews transcribed.

I also understand that:

- 1. All information that I provide will be treated with respect and stored in a secure location at De Montfort University.
- 2. I may withdraw from the study at any point and, in this case, any data that I have provided will not be used by the researchers.
- 3. If required, I will be provided with a copy of the transcript which I can check for authenticity.

Signed

_____	Participant	_____	Date
_____	Researcher	_____	Date

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